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Historical and literary
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HISTORICAL
AND
LITERARY MEMORIALS
OF
Presbyterianism in Ireland.

(1623—1731.)

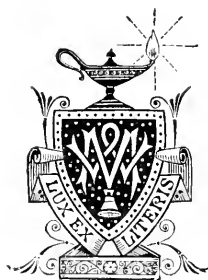
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BY THOMAS WITHEROW,

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“Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation: Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.”—HEB. xiii. 7, 8.

“Et quidem bonos viros in hac terra fuisse non dubito, signa tamen atque virtutes aut ab eis nequaquam facta existimo, aut ita sunt hactenus silentio suppressa, ut utrumne sint facta nesciamus.”—

GREGORII DIALOGI, lib. i.



WILLIAM MULLAN AND SON,
LONDON AND BELFAST.

1879.

TO THE
Faculty and Trustees of Magee College,

THIS WORK,

DESIGNED TO ILLUSTRATE THE HISTORY OF
THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN IRELAND,

IS VERY RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

P R E F A C E.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the care which has been spent on the preparation of this work, the Author cannot say that he is satisfied. Though he has done all in his power to collect information, the book must appear to his readers, as it appears to himself, defective in execution and often meagre in details. But had he waited till he could make it perfect, it would never have been printed. It is now given to the public, in the hope that it may interest those who wish to know our Presbyterian history, and that it may help to bring to light some additional facts, not yet known to the writer, but which may serve to enrich some subsequent edition.

Most of the gentlemen, to whom the Author has been indebted for assistance less or more in gathering the material, are named in the notes; but there are two entitled to special recognition and thanks. The first is the Rev. Dr. Killen of Belfast, who, either from the library of the Belfast Presbyterian College, or from his own private library, most kindly gave the use of every pamphlet marked with the letters "A. C. B."

and "W. D. K." The other is James Gibson, Esq., of Dublin. With very few exceptions, every treatise marked with the letters "M. C. D." was procured by Mr. Gibson, and placed under the author's care in the Library of Magee College.

Of the books used for material, two were of more service than any of the others. One of these is that designated Dr. Reid's *Manuscript Catalogue*. It is a small volume, containing a list of Irish Presbyterian writers and of their writings, which Dr. Reid, when compiling his *History*, had prepared for his own private use. From it, the name of almost every pamphlet mentioned at the beginning of the chapters was obtained. The other book specially useful was the MS. *Minutes of the Synod of Ulster* (1691—1803), for the use of which the Author is indebted to his brethren—the members of that venerable body. From it, most of the dates of ordination and death were derived. The other works used as sources of information, are named at the conclusion of each chapter.

Where it was at all possible or convenient, the writings of the different ministers described in the work, have been either read or carefully examined. The exception to this is the writings which have no initial letters added to their titles as given at the beginning of the chapters. These pamphlets the Author has never seen. Some of them, it is to be feared, are irrecoverably lost: others are no doubt still in existence, if one knew where. The Author would feel much indebted to any of his readers who would

enable him to read any of the pamphlets named in this work, which have no initial letters appended to their titles. When such initials are attached, by this is shown the place where the copy examined is deposited. Those marked "A. C. B." are in the Assembly's College, Belfast; those marked "M. C. D." are in Magee College, Derry; "A. L. E." in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; "T. W." in possession of the Author, etc.

The original design was to bring the work down till the union of the Synods in 1840, if not till the year of Disestablishment—1871; and it was actually completed up to chapter c., which brings the sketches down as far as 1780. This design, if carried out, would require two other volumes such as the present. But it was thought advisable to publish at present but one volume containing fifty chapters, and stopping at the year 1731. Should the present effort meet with public encouragement, a second volume, coming down till 1800, and containing seventy or eighty additional sketches, will follow in due time. Whether a third shall ever appear, it would be hazardous to promise. Each volume will be complete in itself, up till the time when it stops. The facts now stated may account for the somewhat abrupt way in which the present volume terminates, leaving the moral lessons of the work untold.

The name by which the Author wished this book to be known, and by which it was designated in a prospectus printed some years ago for private circulation,

was *Monumenta Presbyteriana Hibernica* ; but that title was with some reluctance relinquished in deference to the opinion of the worthy Publishers, who thought that a Latin title might repel ordinary readers and limit the sale. The mere name, however, is of secondary importance. The Author desires the work to be regarded as the best attempt, which it is in his power to make, in order to illustrate the history and principles of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

Magge College, Londonderry,
17th March, 1879.

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Presbyterian Memorials.

AMONG the Presbyterian Churches of Christendom, that of Ireland is numerically small, and for the general public it may lack the historic interest which attaches to some sections of the family of God in other lands ; but a writer need not be suspected of the narrow sectarian spirit which exaggerates the importance of its own party, and overlooks the excellence of all else beyond, should he decide to restrict himself to the study and exposition of matters affecting the religious community with which, as it happens, he is best acquainted.

To present anew the facts of our story in any regular and scientific form, is not by any means the object of the writer. Such a service is not required in presence of that well-known book, " Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,"—the one great literary work which has done credit to our Church in this country in the first half of the present century. But that is no reason why there should be no endeavour to approach the subject from a different side, and why a little novelty of matter and form may not be employed in the laudable hope of exciting a deeper interest in such inquiries, and especially of making the public better acquainted with a class of men whose influence, it is admitted, has done something to make Ulster what it is to-day. A literary and biographical history of Irish Presbyterianism must call attention to

matters which deserve investigation for a variety of reasons, more particularly for the indirect light which they reflect on the general history of the Church and nation.

The general literature of a Church, though not, strictly speaking, the primary source of its history, usually supplies an accurate index of its social and religious condition. A varied, a learned, and voluminous literature is a sure indication of wealth, culture, and literary leisure. A scanty and a feeble crop of publications, generally speaking, is a sign of poverty, persecution, want of time, want of culture, or want of means. As an ecclesiastical community rises in social importance, its intellectual activity is usually quickened, and as education spreads and readers multiply, the productive power of its ablest minds receives a stimulus which gives promise of good results. This accounts for the double fact that the Presbyterianism of Ireland, in a literary point of view, has been comparatively barren in the past, and that at the present there are various symptoms of a change for the better. For two centuries ministers and people were both engaged in a struggle for existence, and had little time to think of anything that was non-essential thereto. The nineteenth century has removed the incubus of ages. Now we breathe freely, and can look forward to the future with hope.

The writings of our ministers for two centuries are in the main sermons, essays, pamphlets, treatises—works seldom rising to the dignity of volumes, and often called forth by the circumstances of the time. This fact, which deprives them of a permanent and general interest, makes them more valuable in an historical point of view. They reflect and perpetuate the feeling of the time when they were produced. They corroborate the most important statements of the general history. On them every great political and religious movement of the time, has left its deep ineradicable mark. The Plantation Settlement, the civil wars of the Commonwealth, the Restoration, the

Revolution, the Penal Acts of the eighteenth century, the descent of the Pretender on the Scottish shores, the Volunteer movement, the Rebellion of 1798, and the advent of the milder and more beneficial legislation of the nineteenth century, are all registered so indelibly on the local and fugitive publications of the time, that they cannot be effaced. Not only so, but the various phases of religion which have appeared among the Ulster population for more than two hundred years, can be there traced clearly. The doctrinal orthodoxy of the seventeenth century, the rise of error, the schisms, the growth of scepticism, the progress of new parties and sects, and the attempt to rise to a new and higher religious life, all find their record there. It was seldom the most important truth which was the subject of the hour; but the thoughts regarding that subject which filled the minds of the ministers and people of Ulster, were always sure sooner or later to find expression in the fugitive publications of the time. So much is this the case, that if Reid's History was not in existence, and the MS. Minutes of every Synod, Presbytery, and Congregation had perished, it would be possible from the local contemporary literature to produce a new history, true in all its main features, though of course defective in many connecting links and interesting details.

But it is the reverse of this that is the more likely to occur. The history will survive, long after the pamphlets and other publications which corroborate it shall have perished. Already it is feared that many of them have actually been lost—at least, none can tell where all of them are to be found. Such as do exist are mostly deposited in libraries, where they are accessible to a little effort, but where, as a matter of fact, most people never see them. It is only some industrious collector, of rare antiquarian tastes, who has ever seen more than a very few of them. We would earnestly desire to bespeak the reader's favour for those rare old pamphlets in which so much of the past life of the Church is embalmed; we would persuade him

when they fall in his way, to save them from destruction, to handle them gently, to collect them carefully, and to deposit them in some public institution, where they may to some extent be protected from the accidents of life and the ravages of time. The literary taste and the corporate spirit of a religious community must both be very low, if it cease to deserve the praise of being *non incuriosa suorum*.

Further, the story of a human life, provided there is something to tell, and that something be fairly told, ought always to be attractive. But a double charm should attach to the biography of men who lived in former times in the very spot where we live now, who breathed the same air, gazed on the same hills and valleys and streams, mingled in the same society, proclaimed the same doctrines, met the same difficulties and trials, and felt themselves surrounded by the same influences as we do at the present hour. One main use of history is to enable every new generation to profit by the experience of the past; but it is not easy to see how any past experience can profit us if we do not take pains to learn what it was. And can any experience be of so much advantage, as that of men who were placed in circumstances the most closely resembling our own?

The plan which we have chosen deprives us of the power of selecting our men. To take up every minister who has published anything within a certain definite period, necessarily obliges us to speak of some of the best and of some of the worst of the order; for authorship is not always the characteristic or evidence either of piety or worth. The result is, that while we speak of some good men, we pass in silence many more, who in every moral and intellectual qualification were their equals, but who are unrecorded here simply because they left no printed record of themselves; and we are under historical obligation to introduce a few others who have perhaps little that is spiritual or moral to recommend them. And yet the lives of such men are not without utility. They, too, carry in them

a moral from which the young may learn to beware. They are beacons set up to warn us that the early hopes which youth and talent often inspire may all be shattered by the loss of faith, by want of principle, by weakness of character, or by immorality of life. Such lessons have their value, and for the sake of giving the reader an opportunity of gathering them occasionally, we pass by without regret many better men, who faithfully performed the duties of their station, and who, after doing service to their generation, fell asleep in honour. The plan adopted, therefore, leaves no room for selection; we must take our men as they present themselves; but for this reason those whom we notice are the more likely to be on the whole a fair sample of the Presbyterian ministers of Ireland.

The philosophy of history has its value for speculative minds, but its vague and sometimes unsupported generalizations seldom make any deep impression upon the people. Nothing fastens on the popular understanding like a concrete fact, told in the words of the man who was present at the time and place when the thing occurred. No one is so likely to state the sentiments of a party with accuracy, as the man who himself entertained those sentiments. Such facts and opinions are the nearest approach, save and except official records, which can now be made to the sources; and there is a pleasure and utility in opening up to some extent the very springs of history, that each may come, fill his own pitcher, and carry it away. With this object in view, we have allowed each of our men, so far as our limited space permits, to tell what he saw, what he believed, what he thought on the various matters that were of concern to him, and in regard to which he has left a written record behind him. With some, that record, like a figure made on the sand at low water, has already been swept away by the tide of time; in case of others, it is a deep inscription on a rock, sure to hold out against the rain and storm for centuries to come. But our wish is to gather and

treasure up these literary relics of the past, lest after times should not have the same opportunities as we have. We could wish, in our love of the subject, to give a photograph of each man's face, and of the old edifice in each locality where he and his people worshipped more than a hundred years ago; but that is obviously beyond our power. As the pencil, except in the case of a very few, cannot now be brought in to aid our object, all that the pen can do is to make each person stand out with a little more individual distinctness than before, and put on record all that we have been able to gather in regard to his history, his principles, and his character. Were it within our power, we would connect each man's name with the locality in which he laboured, so that when the one should be named the other would instantly be called to remembrance, and thus we would invest, if we could, every district in the land with venerable ecclesiastical memories of its own. But a writer's wishes are often ahead of his capacity. We must rest content even if we can do no more than interest younger men and women in the story of the past, and make them better acquainted with a few of the men who laid the foundations of the Presbyterian Church in this country, and who instructed the various generations of their ancestors in the things of God; men, whose office was, and whose practice in the main corresponded to their office, to

“Allure to brighter worlds, and lead the way.”

CHAPTER I.

ROBERT BLAIR, M.A. (1623—1634),

MINISTER OF BANGOR.

1. *Autobiography of Blair*: [contained in “Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Robert Blair,” printed for Andrew Stevenson, writer, Edin., 1754. 12mo., pp. 128.] Reprinted by the Wodrow Society, Edin., 1848. M.C.D.
2. *Preface to Durham on Scandal: Letters: and a few Latin Poems.* [Not printed in a separate form.] T.W.
3. Unpublished MSS. supposed to be lost:—
Answer to Hull's Remonstrance. [Written in 1641.]
Annotations on the Book of Proverbs. [Written in 1666.]

ROBERT BLAIR was born of a respectable family at Irvine, in Ayrshire, in the year 1593. His father died when he was a child; and he, with five other children, was left dependent on his mother. So early as his seventh year he became the subject of religious impressions, and was admitted to the Lord's table at the age of twelve. In 1611, he entered the University of Glasgow, where he graduated in 1614; and two years afterwards was appointed a Professor, or Regent, as the office then was called, in that seat of learning.

The attempt which was then being made under the auspices of Government to give a prelatie form to the worship and polity of the Church of Scotland forced itself upon the attention of Blair while engaged in college, and especially when visiting the more eminent ministers at vacation time; and he early resolved, at all risks, to give it every opposition in his power. His views on Church government were very decided, and his opinion that the domination of one minister,

called a prelate, over other ministers, his brethren, is contrary alike to the letter and spirit of the Divine Word, grew to be a rooted conviction. Archbishop Law and Dr. Cameron, Principal of the University, having failed to persuade Blair to comply with their measures, the Principal contrived to warp him in controversy, and to make his position so unpleasant, that he resigned his situation as teacher of philosophy and left Glasgow.

On the invitation of his countryman, Lord Claneboy, he arrived in Ireland in 1623, and in the same year was settled as parish minister of Bangor, with the consent of patron and people. To make the Prelatic Establishment of Ireland more acceptable to the settlers then passing over in large numbers from Scotland to occupy the waste lands of Ulster, the king had filled the northern sees with Scotsmen who had themselves conformed. Echlin was then Bishop of Down, and Knox, of Raphoe; and these prelates were not at first too rigid in exacting conformity from their countrymen, in hope, no doubt, that under new influences their objections to prelacy would wear away. Echlin was well aware of Blair's opposition to Episcopacy and to the Liturgy of the Establishment; but, with the design of meeting his scruples, the Bishop, in the character of a presbyter, joined Mr. Cunningham, of Holywood, and other neighbouring ministers, in bestowing upon him Presbyterian ordination. The Bishop himself proposed this method of avoiding the difficulty, adding, good-naturedly, "I am old, and can teach you ceremonies, and you can teach me substance." As no conditions were imposed upon him, and as he was left free to instruct the people and conduct public worship in the Presbyterian form, Blair did not think it right to decline the opportunity of usefulness thus presented, and accordingly became connected with the dominant Church.

For a short time all went smoothly. Blair, in Presbyterian fashion, had elders and deacons appointed, preached four times in the week, visited the families

from house to house, and took pains to instruct all the people of his charge, of whom there were no less than twelve hundred who had reached maturity. Moreover, he held intercourse with other earnest ministers in the district, took an active part in the monthly meeting which Mr. Ridge instituted at Antrim; and, notwithstanding that there mingled with the elements of his spiritual nature a tinge of the superstition from which few men in that age were altogether free, his warm piety and sound judgment contributed not a little to foster the good and to check the extravagances which manifested themselves in the religious movement, that commenced at Oldstone in 1625 and spread into the surrounding districts a few years after.

At this point a change began to show itself in the Bishop. At the end of some years, Blair and the ministers with whom he acted were as much attached to Presbyterian forms as at first; besides, they were growing in popularity, and were successful in their work. Echlin henceforth evinced a disposition to exact rigid conformity, or, failing that, to drive them out of the Establishment. In such a state of mind, he was not unlikely to be accessible to evil reports, and to give to them more credit than they deserved. He was told, and no doubt believed, that Blair and the other ministers taught that bodily sufferings were necessary to conversion; and the result was that in 1631 he suspended four of them—Blair among others. Owing to the interference of Archbishop Ussher, who was then primate, this censure was removed; but henceforth the old bishop grew much more exacting, and in 1632, when the ministers again refused to conform, he deposed them. Various attempts, among others a journey which Blair took to London to lay the case before the king, proving ineffectual to obtain for them anything but forbearance for a little, the sentence was confirmed, and Blair was deposed and excommunicated in November, 1634. Mr. Dunbar, of Larne, shared in this condemnation; the only offence laid to their charge being that they refused to con-

form to the rites and ceremonies of the Episcopal Church.

The first thought of Blair and his friends was to leave the country, and to settle in the colonies of North America, then open to the persecuted. To accomplish this, they built a little vessel, called the *Eagle-wing*, at Groomsport, in which several ministers and laymen, who were no more enamoured of the domination of the prelates than they themselves were, embarked, to the number of 140. But great hardships were encountered on the voyage, and when they had almost reached the coast of Newfoundland, they were compelled by stress of weather to return to Ireland. After this unsuccessful attempt at departure, Blair lived for a little near Belfast, and preached occasionally in private houses; but when information was given that he was exercising his ministry secretly, notwithstanding his deposition, orders were issued by the authorities for his apprehension. Timely warning of this enabled him to escape, and he took refuge in Scotland in 1637.

Having obtained permission from the authorities to settle in his native country, Mr. Blair became minister of Ayr in 1638, and sat as a member of the famous Glasgow Assembly which met in November of that year. In 1639, the Assembly, much against his own wish, transferred him to St. Andrews. When a detachment of the Scottish army under Major-General Munro was stationed at Carrickfergus, and the country had in some degree quieted down after the rebellion of 1641, he was sent over by the General Assembly to preach in the spiritually destitute districts of Down and Antrim, and he noticed with sorrow the religious declension, which after an interval of a very few years was then evident among the people. In 1643, as chaplain to a regiment, he accompanied the Scottish army into England, and was present at the battle of Marston-Moor. He was moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1646. The duties of that office brought him into acquaintance with Charles I. in his misfortunes, who liked him

perhaps as much as it was possible for a man of his tastes to like a Presbyterian minister, and on the death of Alexander Henderson he appointed him as one of his chaplains. From his office he had to preach before the King on Sabbath, and conduct worship twice a day in the Royal presence, while His Majesty remained with the Scottish army. During his intercourse with the unfortunate monarch, he ventured to give him much good advice, which of course was thrown away upon a man who had made up his mind to take his own course. Still he had grown to love the infatuated prince, and never could bring himself to regard his execution in any other light than that of a horrid murder.

His opinion of Cromwell, on the contrary, was not very high. Of late the custom has been to laud the Protector, and to speak of him as a sort of demigod—the uncrowned king of England. But men of good judgment, who lived in his own time, and knew him personally, did not speak of him in such flattering terms. Blair had met him at Marston-Moor; and afterwards when he came to Edinburgh, he and David Dickson and James Guthrie were sent to him on some ecclesiastical business. Cromwell made to them a fair flourish of words, shed tears on the occasion, and frequently appealed to God to witness his sincerity. When they came out, Dickson said, “I am very glad to hear this man speak as he does.” “Do you believe him?” said Blair. “If you knew him as well as I do, you would not believe one word he says. He is an egregious dissembler, and a great liar. Away with him! he is a *greeting devil*.”

Blair survived the Restoration, and was ejected in 1662. The Council of State, at the instigation of Archbishop Sharp, in whose way he stood at St. Andrews, removed him from his congregation and imprisoned him, in order that the new-made prelate might have room to carry on his operations without risk of disturbance. His last years were spent in retirement. He often repeated the fourth verse of the twenty-third

Psalm, and the seventy-first was such a favourite with him that he often called it his own psalm. He died at Couston Castle, in the parish of Aberdour, on the 27th August, 1666; and a stone erected on the side wall of the old Church in that parish marks the grave of one, of whom Baillie testifies that "he had a high reputation among his contemporaries for prudence, wisdom, and moderation," and who holds the first place among the fathers and founders of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

Blair was twice married; on the first occasion to Beatrix Hamilton, a young lady in Edinburgh, who died in 1632, at the early age of twenty-seven; and secondly, to Catherine Montgomery, daughter of Viscount Montgomery of the Ards. This lady had two sisters married to ministers, one to Mr. Cunningham of Holywood, the other to Mr. Hamilton of Killileagh; while to the credit of the lady herself she had the courage to marry Mr. Blair in 1635, after he had been deposed and excommunicated by the bishop. By her, his name has been transmitted to more recent times: the poet Blair, author of "The Grave," was his grandson, and the Lord President Blair, and Dr. Hugh Blair, author of the well-known "Lectures on Rhetoric," were his great-grandchildren.*

The writings of Blair are not very important. A few fugitive *Latin Poems* which he has left, testify merely to his skill in that language. His *Answer to Bishop Hall* was finished in 1641, but was never published, and is now supposed to be lost. The same has to be said in regard to the *Annotations on Proverbs*, which occupied him in the last years of his life. With the exception of a *Preface* to Durham on Scandal, and a few *Letters* of no consequence, the only work of his remaining is the *Autobiography*, or sketch of his own life, which he commenced in 1663, but did not live to complete. Though it is a mere fragment of his story,

* If Chambers (see *Traditions of Edinburgh*, p. 85) is right in his conjecture, a son of the subject of the present sketch was a merchant in Edinburgh in 1696.

commencing at his birth and breaking off abruptly at his abortive attempt to reach New England in 1636, it is of intense interest to all who care to know anything of the introduction of Presbyterianism into Ireland.

None of his works was written in Ireland. The *Preface* to Durham is the only part of his writings printed in the Author's lifetime. The *Autobiography* was repeatedly copied, and used by different writers; but after lying in MS. for ninety years, it was first published in 1754 by Andrew Stevenson, writer in Edinburgh, who has the merit of calling public attention to an important document; though he seems to have misconceived the duties of an editor, and to have taken strange liberties with his text. The first accurate edition ever published was that of the Wodrow Society in 1848, which is edited by the younger M'Crie, and issued after a collation of various MSS. It is from this work that the various facts now mentioned, as well as the extracts, are taken.*

STATE OF ULSTER IN 1623.

The most part of the considerable lands in Ireland were possessed in ancient times by the English; but the civil wars in England, between the Houses of York and Lancaster, did draw from Ulster (the northern province of Ireland) the able men of the English nation, to assist their own faction in their wars at home. Hereupon the Irishes in Ulster killed and expelled the remnant of the English out of that province, and molested all the rest in Ireland—Ulster being, in their conceit, like the thumb on the hand which is able to grip and hold against the four fingers, Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Meath. The civil war ending in the beginning of the reign of King Henry VII., the suppressing of the Irish rebels was not much laboured by the English, partly through sedition at home, and partly through wars with France and Scotland, till the reign of that happy and excellent Queen Elizabeth; who, as she was a blessing not only to England, but to all the Reformed nations and kirks in Europe, so she did much to finish that rebellion, which yet was not fully

* Blair's *Autobiography*: Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. i.

extinguished (the Scot West-Islanders sometimes joining with the Irish rebels, and sometimes acting for themselves against the English) till King James, of famous memory, his receiving the Crown of England. These wars lasting so long, the whole country did lie waste : the English possessing some few towns and castles, making use of small parcels of near adjacent lands ; the Irishes staying in woods, bogs, and such fast places. In the reign of King James that desolate land began to be planted both with English and Scots, the northern Irishes remaining not only obdured in Popish superstition and idolatry, but also in their idleness and incivility. The part of Scotland nearest to Ireland sent over abundance of people and cattle, that filled the counties of Ulster that lay next to the sea ; and albeit amongst these, Divine Providence sent over some worthy persons for birth, education, and parts, yet the most part were such as either poverty, scandalous lives, or at the best, adventurous seeking of better accommodation, set forward that way. The wolf and wildcain were great enemies to these first planters ; but the long rested land yielded to the labourers such plentiful increase, that many followed the first essayers. Little care was had by any to plant religion. As were the people, so for the most part were the preachers. This was the main cause of my unwillingness to settle my abode there.—*Autobiography*, pp. 56, 57.

HARVEST AT BANGOR.

But I cannot forget that memorable passage that occurred to me in the second year of my ministry in Ireland. There being a great crop upon the ground, the harvest proved very bad, especially in that parish which was very large, being six miles of length, and the most part of it good arable land. The soil being for the most part strong clay, fell out ordinarily to be later ten or twelve days than the neighbouring places. They had got in the most of their corn ere the weather brake ; but after that for a whole month there were so great rains that in the parish of Bangor there could be no inning. Whereupon we resolved solemnly, by humiliation and fasting a whole day, to seek His face to avert the threatened famine. When the day appointed came, great rain was poured out from morning to evening, so that the Lord at first seemed to answer us by terrible things, thrusting out our prayers. I had before that day conferred with the most ancient and expert husbandmen in what case their corns were. They answered that the whole was in great danger by reason of the great growing in the stacks, almost a finger long, and that if the weather fell out never so good, the third part would be lost. But our gracious God was pleased that night, after the day of our humiliation, to send so mighty a drying wind, which blew full twenty-four hours, that houses were in danger of being overthrown, and some were in effect blown down. All the corns were so thrown down and fully

dried, the growing thereon snibbed, that in two days following, the people labouring night and day without intermission, the whole corns were got in. These two days I, with two neighbouring ministers were continuing our supplications.—*Autobiography*, pp. 62, 63.

MONTHLY MEETING AT ANTRIM.

When he [James Glendinning, lecturer at Carrickfergus] had retired as he had promised to me, to preach at Oldstone, there he began to preach diligently, and having a great voice and vehement delivery, he roused up the people, and wakened them with terrors; but not understanding well the Gospel, could not settle them nor satisfy their objections. Within a mile to that place lived Mr. John Ridge, a judicious and gracious minister, who, perceiving many people on both sides the Six Mile Water awakened out of their security, and willing to take pains for their salvation, made an overture, that a monthly lecture might be set up at Antrim, and invited to bear burden therein Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Hamilton, and myself. We were glad of the motion, and hearkened to it at the very first, and came prepared to preach. In the summer day four did preach, and when the day grew shorter, three. This monthly meeting thus beginning continued many years, and was a great help to spread religion through that whole country. Sir Hugh Clotworthy was very hospitable to the ministers that came there to preach. His worthy son, now Lord Viscount Massareene, together with his mother and lady, both of them very virtuous and religious, did greatly countenance this work.—*Autobiography*, pp. 70, 71.

BODILY AFFECTIONS AT LARNE.

There being many converts in all these congregations, the destroyer set himself mainly against the people of Lough-Larne by this stratagem—he playing the ape did upon some ignorant persons counterfeit the work of the Lord. In the midst of the public worship these persons fell a mourning, and some of them were affected with pangs like convulsions, and daily the number of them increased. At first both pastors and people, pitying them, had charitable thoughts, thinking it probable it was the work of the Lord; but thereafter in conference they could find nothing to confirm these charitable thoughts—they could neither perceive any sense of their sinfulness, nor any panting after a Saviour. So the minister of the place did write to some of his brethren to come thither, and with him to examine the matter. Coming and conferring with these persons, we apprehended it to be a mere delusion and cheat of Satan to slander and disgrace the work of the Lord. And the very next Lord's-day one of my charge, in the midst of the public worship, being a dull and ignorant person, made a noise and stretching of her body. Incontinent I was assisted to rebuke that lying spirit that disturbed

the worship of God, charging the same in the name and authority of Jesus Christ, not to disturb that congregation; and through God's mercy we met with no more of that work, the person above-mentioned remaining still a dull and stupid sot. All this was so notoriously known, that Primate Ussher got word of it; who the next time I saw him, said to me, I had reason to bless the Lord, who had assisted me so confidently (as he was pleased to word it) to conjure that lying spirit.—*Autobiography*, p. 89.

THE ILL-STARRED VOYAGE.

The cordage being gotten, the faint-hearted man (the captain) pretending there was a dangerous leak in the ship, prevailed with us to go to the Kyles of Bute, there to search our leak; but there we perceived the leak was in himself. The Lord's intent was that some people there, in Bute and Cowan, should hear the word of God from us, where also we received from them the best commodities afforded, as apples, honey, and the best sort of bread they had. Our ship was here put so fast on ground, that for sundry days she did not float. This being done by the treachery of the master, we therefore dismissed him, having another more experienced than he to take the charge. So at last the time being far spent, the — day of August we thence set forth, being in all, besides their sailors, about one hundred and forty, having beside our sea provision two years' victual for the land. In the entry we met with this discouragement, a deal of our bread not well baken was spoiled, so that we behoved to cast it overboard. We were so eager for our purpose, for which we had prayed so much, that we could not, or rather would not, see the Lord crossing our designs. Having through calmness hardly passed the Sound of Ratchly in the Mull of Cantyre, the Lord sent us a fair and strong gale of wind for many days. When we had passed the back of Ireland, and entered the great ocean, O what mountains—not waves—of sea did we meet! The swellings of the sea did rise higher than any mountains we had seen on the earth, so that in the midday they hid the sun from our sight. Then fell I sick, being troubled with a great thirst, so that I could eat nothing but roasted apples, till at last some of our company persuaded me, holding me by the arms, to visit all the passengers in their several quarters. In one of them I was urged to take some stomach water, which with God's blessing proved effectual to my health.—*Autobiography*, pp. 107, 108.

CHAPTER II.

JOHN LIVINGSTONE, M.A. (1630—1635),

MINISTER OF KILLINCHY.

1. *A Brief Historical Relation* of the Life of Mr. John Livingstone, Minister of the Gospel, containing several observations of the Divine Goodness manifested to him in several occurrences thereof. Written by himself [in 1666] during his banishment in Holland for the cause of Christ. [Printed at Glasgow, 1754 : republished, Glasgow, 1773.]
2. *Memorable Characteristics*, and Remarkable Passages of Divine Providence, exemplified in the Lives of some of the most eminent Ministers and Professors in the Church of Scotland. [Written in 1668.]
3. *Letters* on Public Events [1641—1671]: Substance of a *Discourse* at Ancrum, 13th of October, 1662 : *Sayings* and *Observations*.

[All the above are contained in *Select Biographies* of the Wodrow Society.—M.C.D.]

JOHN LIVINGSTONE was born on the 21st June, 1603, at Kilsyth in Stirlingshire, where his father was minister. His grandfather, the Rev. Alexander Livingstone, was grandson of the fifth Lord Livingstone, the guardian of Queen Mary Stuart. He was thus the third of the family, who in succession had been a minister of the Church of Scotland. Having received his school education in Stirling, he entered the University of Glasgow, where he had Robert Blair, afterwards of Bangor, for his instructor in logic and metaphysics, and where he graduated in 1621. He could not remember in after years the time, place, or circumstances in which the Lord first wrought upon his heart, but he was admitted to the Lord's table before

he left school for college in 1617. At first he was uncertain as to what profession he should enter, but in the end decided for the ministry, and commenced to preach in 1625. In the parish of Torphichen, both patron and people were anxious for his settlement among them, but his nonconformity to the prelatic ceremonies was too well known to make him acceptable to Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and difficulties were thrown in the way, which disappointed the wishes of the congregation. For two years afterwards he acted as chaplain to the Earl of Wigtown, and preached in various places over the country as he found opportunity. A sermon which he preached at the kirk of Shotts on a communion Monday, 21st June, 1630, is said to have been blessed to as many as five hundred souls.* During this period, several parishes presented him with calls, but the bishops regarded him as an enemy, and constantly succeeded in preventing his settlement.

In 1630, letters from Lord Claneboy called him to Ireland. He accepted the invitation, and on the 29th August received ordination from Andrew Knox, the old bishop of Raphoe, who as a presbyter joined several ministers in conferring on him Presbyterian orders, as already mentioned in the case of Blair, and "who thought his old age was prolonged for little other purpose but to do such offices." The avowed design of the bishop in this act was to obviate Livingstone's scruples as to the Scriptural validity of prelatical orders. Bishop Echlin does not seem to have been satisfied about his going for ordination to Bishop Knox, still he did not raise any objection to his settlement at Killinchy, from which parish he had received a unanimous call. His ministry in that district was very successful, and many received through his means deep religious impressions. His intercourse with other ministers of principles similar to his own was very pleasant. A considerable number of them had by this

* See Fleming's *Fulfilling of the Scripture*. Edition of 1669. p 214.

time settled around the shores of Belfast Lough, and the monthly meeting, which had its origin in the religious movement pervading the district of the Six Mile Water, gave them frequent opportunities for religious and friendly intercourse. In this meeting Livingstone took an active part.

He had been scarcely a year at Killinchy till, in common with Blair of Bangor, his friend and neighbour, he was suspended by Bishop Echlin for non-conformity, and for "stirring up the people to extacies and enthusiasms." For a little the censure was relaxed through the interference of the Primate; but on the 4th of May, 1632, the bishop proceeded to depose Blair and Livingstone, and eight days afterwards Dunbar of Larne, and Welsh of Templepatrick. The king when appealed to would have given redress, but his good intentions were frustrated through the influence of his advisers, Laud and Wentworth, who were at the time the virtual rulers both of king and kingdom. The two years from May, 1632, till May, 1634, Livingstone spent in Scotland, preaching as he had opportunity, but occasionally visiting Ireland, and holding among his people secret meetings for worship. At Killinchy his salary was never over £40 a year; but such was the liberality of friends in Scotland, that he never wanted money for the supply of necessaries, or to defray the cost of his frequent journeys. In old age he could not remember that he ever had occasion to borrow money except once, when he had the use of five or six pounds for a short time from a friend in Ireland.

In May, 1634, a letter from Lord Deputy Wentworth restored the deposed ministers. In November of that year, Blair was finally deposed and excommunicated; but for some reason now unknown there was no interference with Livingstone for a year after. During that interval of quiet he married Miss Fleming, sister's daughter of Beatrix Hamilton, the first Mrs. Blair, who then resided with her mother and her stepfather at Malone, near Belfast. The wedding came off in the

West Church of Edinburgh, in June, 1635; and in the short interval between his marriage and his deposition he dwelt with his wife and her mother at Malone, whence from time to time he went down to preach at Killinchy. Echlin died on the 17th July, 1635, but his successor, Henry Leslie, who was consecrated on the 4th October following, was more rigorous than he. The month after his consecration (November, 1635), he deposed Livingstone, and followed up the sentence with excommunication. In these dark days, Mr. Blair, on whom the prelatical anathema had first fallen, came with his young wife, Catherine Montgomery, and lived with his friends, Mr. and Mrs. Stevenson, at the Iron Furnace, Malone. The two ministers, while there, often conducted private meetings for worship; and while the Eaglewing was in building down at Groomsport to carry them out of the country, they spent one day every week in fasting and prayer for a blessing on the undertaking.

Livingstone and his wife shared with Blair in the perils of the unfortunate voyage already described, and on returning from it he dwelt at Malone throughout the winter of 1636-7. Then to escape imprisonment for preaching in private after his deposition, he passed over to Scotland, where he was settled as minister of Stranraer. There, upon the opposite side of the Channel, he was often visited by old hearers from Killinchy. As many, it is said, as five hundred would sail over to attend his communion at Stranraer; on one occasion he baptized twenty-eight children, brought over for that purpose, from the County Down; while some removed their residence to the neighbourhood where he lived, rather than forego the advantage of his ministry.

At different times between 1642 and 1648, he was sent by the General Assembly to preach in those districts of Down and Antrim, which the great Irish Rebellion of 1641 had left entirely destitute of religious instruction in any form. During these brief periodical visits he travelled from place to place,

preaching once every weekday and twice on the Sabbath. His last visit to Ireland was for nine or ten weeks in 1656, at which time a considerable number of ministers had settled permanently in the country. Twenty-one years of prelatical rule and Irish rebellion and army oppression, had produced great changes. Death also had not been idle. In the district with which he was best acquainted, he did not then find more than nine or ten persons whom he had once known when minister of Killinchy.

During the great civil war, he was sent as chaplain along with a regiment in the Scottish army, when it marched into England. In 1648, he removed from Stranraer to be minister of Ancrum; and two years after he accompanied the commission appointed by the Parliament of Scotland to treat with Charles II., then in exile at Breda. The result of this journey was to convince himself, that he was not qualified to shine either as a statesman or a diplomatist.

After the Restoration, Livingstone was called before the authorities, and when he refused to take an oath of allegiance, according to the terms of which he was to acknowledge the king to be the supreme governor in all cases, civil and ecclesiastical—which he understood to mean that he was to recant the Covenant, and admit as lawful the introduction of Prelacy—he was banished from the kingdom. He arrived in Rotterdam in April, 1663, and in the December of the same year he was joined by his wife. His last years were spent in private studies and in peace. He died at Rotterdam, on the 9th of May, 1672.

Livingstone was short-sighted: in constitution he was moderately strong; in temperament, timorous and yielding. He was the most popular and successful Scottish preacher of his age. His custom was to make out short notes for his preaching, and to enlarge upon them at the time of delivery. To have his heart in tune he found to be the best preparation, and to know that the people were hungering for instruction was his greatest aid. He never preached a sermon, he was

accustomed to say, which he would care to see in writing, except two; one of which was that preached on a communion Monday at the kirk of Shotts, the other on a similar occasion at Holywood. Had he lived in quieter times, it is probable he would have made for himself a name in literature; as it was, he attained considerable proficiency in the department of ancient and modern languages.

The *Letters*, and fragments of *Sermons*, of which he is the author, are not of much importance. His Autobiography, or *Brief Historical Relation*, is very like that of Blair, his teacher and friend, and is of equal value as an illustration from an independent source of the early history of Presbyterianism in Ireland. It covers the whole period of his life from his birth to his exile, and is intensely interesting, not only from the manner in which it touches upon the public events of this time, but from the candid and honest way in which he describes himself. The *Memorable Characteristics* is a short record of the history and character of various eminent Christians in Scotland and Ireland, many of whom he had personally known. In it he preserves various facts of interest and personal traits, in regard to several individuals, which otherwise would have been lost. The *Brief Historical Relation* was printed in a quarto form in 1727, and has passed through several editions. The only complete edition of the writings of Livingstone is that contained in the *Select Biographies* of the Wodrow Society. Some of the descendants of Livingstone emigrated to the New England Colonies. His great-grandson, Philip Livingstone, was speaker in the House of Assembly, and one of the fifty-six who signed the declaration of American Independence. Another of his great-grandsons was Judge Livingstone, father of the Chancellor, who administered the oath of office to General Washington.*

* Livingstone's *Works* in *Select Biographies* of the Wodrow Society, vol. i.; Reid's *History*; Hunt's *Life of Edward Livingstone*, New York, 1864.

KNEELING AT THE COMMUNION.

I was from my infancy bred with averseness from Episcopacy and ceremonies. While I was in the College at Glasgow, in the year 1619 or 1620, being, as I think, the first year that kneeling at the communion was brought in there, I, being with some two or three of the young men of the college, set down among the people at the table, and Mr. James Law, the pretended bishop of Glasgow, coming to celebrate the communion, he urged all the people to fall down and kneel. Some did so : we sat still. He came to us, commanding us to kneel, or to depart. Somewhat I spoke to him, but do not perfectly remember what I said. It was to this purpose, that there was no warrant for kneeling, and for want of it we ought not to be excommunicated from the table of the Lord. He caused some of the people about us to rise, that we might remove ; which we did.—*Historical Relation*, Period I.

COURTSHIP IN THE OLD TIMES.

In June, 1635, the Lord was graciously pleased to bless me with my wife, who how well accomplished in every way, and how faithful an yokefellow, I desire to leave to the memory of others. She was the eldest daughter of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh. . . . Her father died at London in 1624, and was laid hard by Mr. John Welsh, and these two only of a long time had been buried without the Service Book. . . . Her mother, with her second husband, John Stevenson, and her family, came to Ireland in the end of the year 1633. When I went a visit to Ireland in the year 1634, Mr. Blair proposed to me that marriage. Immediately thereafter I was sent to London to have gone to New England, and returned the June following. I had seen her before several times in Scotland, and heard the testimony of many of her gracious disposition ; yet I was for nine months seeking as I could direction from God anent that business, during which time I did not offer to speak to her (who I believe had not heard anything of the matter), only for want of clearness in my mind, although I was twice or thrice in the house, and saw her frequently at communion and public meetings. And it is like I might have been longer in that darkness, except the Lord had presented an occasion of our conferring together. For in November, 1634, when I was going to the Friday meeting at Antrim, I forgathered with her and some other going thither, and proponed to them by the way to confer upon a text, whereon I was to preach the day after at Antrim ; wherein I found her conference so judicious and spiritual, that I took that for some answer of my prayer to have my mind cleared, and blamed myself that I had not before taken occasion to confer with her. Four or five days thereafter I proponed the matter to her, and desired her to think upon it ;

and after a week or two I went to her mother's house, and being alone with her, desiring her answer, I went to prayer, and urged her to pray, which at last she did ; and in that time I got abundant clearness that it was the Lord's mind I should marry her. I then proponed the matter more fully to her mother : and albeit I was thus fully cleared, I may truly say it was close a month after before I got marriage affection to her, although she was for personal endowments beyond many of her equals ; and I got it not till I obtained it by prayer. But thereafter I had greater difficulty to moderate it.—*Historical Relation*, Period III.

PARTING ADVICE TO HIS CONGREGATION.

In the meantime love and help one another ; have a care to breed your children to know the Lord, and to keep themselves from the pollutions of an evil world. I recommend to you above all books, except the blessed Word of God, the Confession of Faith and Larger Catechism. Be grounding yourselves, and one another, against the abominations of Popery, in case it should prove the trouble of the time, as I apprehend it may. Let a care be had of the poor and sick ; there is left as much in the ordinary way as will suffice for meat and money for a year or more. I cannot insist on the several particulars, wherein possibly you would crave advice. The Word is a lamp, and the Spirit of Christ will guide into all truth. The light that comes after unfeigned humiliation, and self-denial, and earnest prayer, and search of the Scripture, is a sure light.—*Letter to the People of Ancrum, dated 3rd April, 1663.*

MESSAGE SENT THEM FROM ROTTERDAM.

In all things, and above all things, let the Word of God be your only rule, Christ Jesus your only hope, His Spirit your only guide, and His glory your only end. See that each of you apart worship God every day, morning and evening at least : read some of His Word, and call on Him by prayer, and give Him thanks. If ye be straitened with business, it is not so much the length of your prayer that He regards, as the uprightness and the earnestness of the heart ; but neglect not the duty ; and if ye be without the hearing of others, utter your voice ; it is sometime a great help, but do it not to be heard of others. Sing also a psalm or some part of a psalm : ye may learn some by heart for that purpose. Through the whole day, labour to set the Lord always before you, as present to observe you and strengthen you for every duty, and then look over how the day hath been spent before you sleep. Such as have families, set up the worship of God in your families, as ye would avoid the wrath that shall be poured on the families that call not on His name. As occasion offers of any honest minister coming amongst you, neglect not the same : and on the Lord's-day go where ye can hear the Word sincerely preached by a sent minister . . . but I dare not bid

you hear any of the intruded hirelings, whom they call curates.
—*Letter to the People of Ancrem, dated 7th Oct., 1671.*

DEATH-BED REMARKS.

I die in the faith that the truths of God, which He hath helped the Church of Scotland to own, shall be owned by Him as truths so long as sun and moon endure. I hate Independency, though there be good men among them, and some well-meaning people favour it: yet it will be found more to the prejudice of the work of God than many are aware, for they vanish into vain opinions.

I have had my own faults, as other men, but He made me always to abhor *shows*.

I cannot say much of great services; yet if ever my heart was lifted up, it was in preaching Jesus Christ.

HIS ATTAINMENTS.

Had I in a right manner behaved and taken pains, it had been better for myself and others; but a lazy trusting to assistance in the meantime kept me barehanded all my days. I had a kind of coveting, when I got leisure and opportunity, to read much, and of different subjects; and I was oft challenged that my way of reading was like some men's lust after such a kind of play and recreation. I used to read much too fast, and so was somewhat pleased in the time, but retained little. My memory was somewhat waterish and weak, yet had I improved it I might have had better use of it; for after I came from college I did with no great difficulty attain to some tolerable insight in the Hebrew and Chaldee, and somewhat also of the Syriac. The Arabic I did essay, but the vastness of it made me give it over. I got also so much of the French, the Italian, and after that of the Low Dutch, that I could make use of sundry of their books; and of the Spanish and High Dutch, that I could make use of their Bibles. It was once or twice laid on me by the General Assembly to write the History of the Church of Scotland since the late Reformation, 1638; but, beside my inability for such an undertaking, and my lazy disposition, I could by no means procure the materials fit for such a work.—*Historical Relation*, Period V.

CHAPTER III.

ANDREW STEWART (1646—1671),

MINISTER OF DONAGHADEE.

MS. *A Short Account* of the Church of Christ as it was : 1. Among the Irish at first. 2. Among and after the English entered. 3. After the entry of the Scots. M.C.D.

OWING to the persecution carried out so vigorously by Lord Deputy Wentworth and the Irish prelates, the Presbyterian ministers were driven out of the country, so that none remained from 1636 to 1642. During that period the rebellion of 1641 broke out, and swept over the province like a deluge, everywhere bringing suffering, murder, and desolation. But the Scottish regiments sent over by the Parliament in 1642 brought with them chaplains, who formed themselves into a Presbytery at Carrickfergus, and raised again the drooping banner of Presbyterianism in Ireland. The Rev. Andrew Stewart, of Donaghadee, was among the first ministers who took charge of congregations in the northern counties after peace was restored.

His father, whose name also was Andrew Stewart, had been minister of Donegore (1627—1634), and it is his death scene, of which a graphic picture is given by Fleming in his *Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, and inserted by Dr. Reid in the fourth chapter of his *History*. Of his own private life very little is now known. He speaks of having himself seen persons stricken down in the religious movement which commenced at Oldstone in 1625, and reached its climax in 1628. His nephew, the Rev. Andrew Crawford of Carnmoney, in a letter

to Wodrow, dated 7th September, 1724, states that his uncle was a "young man" at the time of the revival on the Sixmile-water. When order was restored in Ulster after the Rebellion, he came from Scotland, and was settled as minister of Donaghadee in 1645 or 1646, Adair does not specify which.

After the execution of Charles I., in 1649, Stewart found it necessary to retire to Scotland in common with many of his brethren who condemned that act, and who were rather demonstrative in their opposition to the Republican Government of the time. It was not till the summer of 1652 that he ventured to return to his congregation, and when he did so, it was without obtaining any formal permission from the civil authorities. Soon after a letter was received from Colonel Venables and the other Government commissioners in Belfast, summoning him and other ministers to meet them on the 21st October, for the purpose of consulting how the Gospel could be preached "without disturbing the peace of the Commonwealth." The ministers attended, and handed in a paper, in which they said that, although they could not recognize the Republican Government as lawful, nor bind themselves by any oath or subscription, still they had no intention either to promote rebellion or disturb the peace, and would be content simply with liberty to preach the Gospel. The Commissioners did not seem altogether satisfied with this passive allegiance, and adjourned the matter for six weeks. Four days after, the ministers held a private consultation in a barn, and Mr. Stewart was sent to confer with eminent brethren in Scotland, all of whom concurred in the action of the Irish ministers. He was prevented by contrary winds from returning to Ireland within the prescribed time, so that the subsequent action of his brethren had to be taken without him.

In 1654, he was one of the Committee of Presbytery who drew up the Act of Bangor, the design of which was to prevent the difference between Resolutioners and Protesters, then distracting the mother-Church of

Scotland, from spreading to Ireland, where there was no ground for such divisions. As an individual Mr. Stewart sympathised with the Resolutioners, but he aided in framing the Act which proved so effectual in keeping that Scottish controversy out of Ireland. That same year he was one of a deputation which, at the suggestion of Sir John Clotworthy, waited on Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and the Council at Dublin, in regard to the maintenance of the ministers, all of whom, since 1649, had been depending on the charity of the poor and burdened people among whom they lived, and to whom they ministered when they were permitted. Untaught mechanics and military men were at the time under State pay as Independent and Anabaptist preachers. Sir John thought that the claim of the Presbyterian ministers was at all events no less. The new Government had grown strong with time, and could now afford to be generous. The Council agreed to give a salary to the ministers, but refused to give them the legal maintenance connected with their parishes. The salary thus granted was nearly in all cases larger than the legal income of the parish: but the ministers would have preferred the latter, because they enjoyed it previously; it was derived from the people among whom they ministered; it made them less dependent on the goodwill of rulers; and it was more likely to be permanent.

After the Restoration, Mr. Stewart was one of the SIXTY-ONE Presbyterian ministers of Ulster, who, in 1661, were ejected from their churches and parishes for refusing to conform to the Episcopal Church, which had again been established under Charles II. Not content with ejecting them, the Episcopal clergy, jealous of their living among the people and occasionally preaching to them, for many years after maligned them to the Government as persons disaffected to the throne, and as sowing sedition in the country. At the suggestion of Sir John Clotworthy, then Lord Massareene, a deputation, of which Stewart was a member, went to Dublin in 1662, and waited

on the Lord Lieutenant—the Duke of Ormond—to whom they presented a petition, “owning their principles, and begging immunity from bishops and ceremonies.” “Divers in the Council, and such bishops as were present,” says Adair, “spake against the ministers and their papers with great animosity and indignation, and said they should be punished for contumacy and open professing against the laws, and that it was unfit they should have liberty to live among the people to poison them.” Though the Duke pitied the peculiar misfortunes of men, who, as he said, first suffered *for* the king and then suffered *under* him, yet the end of all was that they were informed that they must live according to law, and that they could serve God in their own families without drawing multitudes together. In the end of October, the deputation brought back this discouraging answer to their brethren.

In the following year Mr. Stewart was innocently drawn into trouble. A plot having been hatched in Dublin by some old Cromwellians, who, disaffected at the state of things produced by the Restoration, meditated an overthrow of the Government, civil and ecclesiastical, an attempt was made by two of the ringleaders, Blood and Lecky, to make the Presbyterians of the North a party to it. They tried Mr. Stewart, Mr. Greg of Newtownards, and Captain Moor of Killinchy—all of whom refused to take anything to do with it. The plot in time was discovered—such things usually are; Blood escaped, but on the 22nd May, 1663, Lecky was arrested. The papers found with him spoke of the necessity of taking up arms, owing to the growth of Popery and the oppression of the bishops, and avowed designs similar to those of the Solemn League and Covenant. This at once directed suspicion towards the Presbyterians. It came out that Mr. Stewart and Mr. Greg had been spoken to upon the subject. This confirmed the suspicion. In the middle of June, all the Presbyterian ministers in Down and Antrim, for supposed complicity in this affair, were apprehended in one day

—at least, as many of them as could be found. The Antrim ministers were detained in Carrickfergus for two months. Seven ministers from Down were imprisoned for a month at Carlingford; and in July, Stewart and Greg were sent up under a guard to Dublin. Upon examination, Mr. Stewart stated the simple facts as they occurred. Mr. Greg and Captain Moore were not so ingenuous, and were kept in prison till March, 1664. In the previous November, Mr. Stewart was permitted to return home. This foolish and dangerous affair put many innocent persons to trouble, and caused anxiety to them and their friends. The only ministers in the North really implicated in Blood's plot—Andrew M'Cormick of Magherally, and John Crookshanks of Raphoe, escaped to Scotland, where it is said they afterwards perished in the battle of Pentlands.

In 1670, Roger Boyle, Bishop of Down, summoned Mr. Stewart, with eleven of his brethren, to appear before his court, with the intention of proceeding to excommunicate them all in case of refusal; but an intimation from the Lord Lieutenant and from Primate Margetson checked this pious prelate's sectarian zeal, and he was unable to carry out his design.

In the July of that year, Mr. Stewart was ill, and was not able to travel, and he died in the winter following, 2nd January, 1671. The following inscription was on his tombstone in the churchyard of Donaghadee, in the year 1744:—

“Here lyeth that Pious and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. Andrew Stewart, late Minister of Donaghadee, who died the 2nd of January, 1671, and of his age the 46.”*

And under his arms were the following Latin lines:—

“Vita probum, probitasque pium, pietasque Beatum,
Laus celebrem, laudi mens dedit esse parem.
Corpus humum, mens Diapolum, Fama inclyta mundum
Morte subit, decorat lumine, laude beat.”†

* There is a mistake in the age. Probably it should be 56. Stewart was a boy of ten in 1625—the year of the religious movement at Oldstone.

† *The Montgomery MSS.*, by Hill, p. 240.

His *Short Account*, the only work of which he is known to be the author, is an unfinished historical fragment. The autograph is lost, but a copy taken from it by his nephew, Andrew Crawford, minister of Carnmoney, was sent to Wodrow on the 7th September, 1724, and is now in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. It is from this transcript, which by the loss of the original has risen to the position of an original itself, that all the extracts now in circulation were originally derived. An authenticated copy of this valuable MS. is in the library of Magee College. Parts I. and II. are not very valuable. They are compilations from legendary and historical sources of various matters relating to Irish history, which become more interesting and trustworthy as we advance towards the writer's time, but almost all of which are found in other writers of greater information. Part III. is the most important for historical purposes, and it has been published in full by Dr. Killen, as an appendix to Adair's Narrative. It is a valuable fragment, describing the state of religion among the Scottish settlers in Ulster; but it ends abruptly with the establishment of the monthly meeting at Antrim in 1626. The little which he tells is conveyed in such an interesting way, that the reader feels disappointed when he finds himself at the end of it. The work was left unfinished at the author's death.

Mr. Livingstone, of Templepatrick (see ch. xxvi.), writing to Wodrow the historian, under date the 5th of March; 172, speaks thus of Stewart:—

"I find he hath left a *Diary*, which is in the hands of his daughter, who is wife to the Rev. Mr. Henry Hamilton at Donaghadee, a person of good sense and great religion, but for some secret reasons she will by no means expose it, and is at present at the point of death. But I doubt not, whether she lives or dies, to get a sight of it in a little time. She reports two passages concerning her father, which are very extraordinary; you shall have them as they are, in due time."

These passages were forwarded to Wodrow by Mr.

Livingstone on the 3rd of September following, and it is not impossible that they may be still preserved among the Wodrow MSS.

Of the descendants of Mr. Stewart, nothing is now known; but from his sister Janet, who became wife of the Rev. T. Crawford, of Donegore (1655—1670), sprung the family of Crawford, who kept their place in the Presbyterian ministry of Ulster down till the present century, and who have always sustained a high character for talent and worth.*

CHARACTER OF THE FIRST SETTLERS.

From Scotland came many, and from England not a few, yet all of them generally the scum of both nations, who for debt, or breaking and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter, came hither, hoping to be without fear of man's justice in a land where there was nothing, or but little, as yet of the fear of God. And in few years there flocked such a multitude of people from Scotland, that these northern counties of Down, Antrim, Londonderry, etc., were in a good measure planted, which had been waste before; yet most of the people, as I said before, made up a body (and, it is strange, of different names, nations, dialects, tempers, breeding, and, in a word, all void of godliness,) who seemed rather to flee from God in this enterprise than to follow their own mercy. Yet God followed them when they fled from Him—albeit at first it must be remembered that they cared little for any church. So God seemed to care as little for them; for the strangers were no better entertained than with the relics of Popery served upon a ceremonial service of God under a sort of anti-Christian hierarchy, and committed to the care of a number of careless men whom the law calls priests.—*Short Account*, Part III.

THE NORTHERN BISHOPS, SCOTSMEN.

In those days, because the plantation was of Scots, the king appointed Scotsmen to be bishops where they dwelt; so Echlin was made Bishop of Down, and after him Leslie: Knox, Bishop of Raphoe, and after him John Leslie: and other bishops were made from among the Scots, as Maxwell, Adair, and afterwards Baily. But these, seeking to ingratiate themselves with the king, and to be sure that they, being strangers, should come behind in nothing, ran beyond all in violently carrying forward the breeding of their countrymen to kindly conforming to the

* Adair's *Narrative*; Reid's *History*, vols. i. and ii.

English order of doctrine, discipline, worship, and government. Only the Scots, who had estates and lands given them, appeared forward ; the rest, as I said, cared little what profession was uppermost, and yet thought it a scorn to be hurled against their will into a sudden change of what they had been bred to ; and therefore, though they had not the feeling of things from any principle of grace in their hearts, yet the very pride of their heart and a sort of nationality biassed them to scorn conforming ; though they joined with it because it was the king's will and the law of the land.—*Short Account, Part III.*

STRIKING DOWN IN THE REVIVAL.

I have seen them myself stricken, and swoon with the Word—yea, a dozen in one day carried out of doors as dead, so marvellous was the power of God smiting their hearts for sin, condemning and killing ; and some of those were none of the weaker sex or spirit, but indeed some of the boldest spirits, who formerly feared not with their sword to put a whole market town in a fray ; yea, in defence of their stubbornness cared not to lie in prison and in the stocks, and being incorrigible, were as ready to do the like the next day. Yea, I have heard one of them, then a mighty strong man (now a mighty Christian), say that his end in coming to church was to consult with his companions how to work some mischief ; and yet at one of those sermons was he so caught, that he was fully subdued. But why do I speak of him ? We knew, and yet know, multitudes of such men who had no power to resist the word of God ; but the heart being pricked and smitten with the power of God, the stubborn, who sinned and gloried in it, because they feared not man, are now patterns of sobriety, fearing to sin, because they feared God.—*Short Account, Part III.*

CHAPTER IV.

PATRICK ADAIR (1646—1694),

MINISTER AT CAIRNCASTLE AND BELFAST.

A True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Government in the North of Ireland, and of the various troubles and afflictions which ministers and people adhering to that way did meet with from the adversaries thereof, and of the constant adherence thereunto notwithstanding. Divided into four parts; the first, which is mainly introductory, from the year 1622 to the year 1642; the second from the year 1642 to the year 1661; the third from the year 1661 to the death of King Charles II.; the fourth from the entrance of King James II. upon his Government unto this present year. Faithfully collected from the records of the Presbytery. Whereunto is annexed an exact account of the manner of their exercise of that government in all the parts thereof, for the information of such as desire to be informed. 12mo., pp. 321. *Belfast*, 1866.

M. C. D.

THIS distinguished minister was the son of the Rev. Wm. Adair, of Ayr, one of the Scottish ministers who, in 1644, administered the Solemn League and Covenant to the Presbyterians of Ulster; and also nephew and son-in-law to Sir Robert Adair, of Kilhilt, in Wigtonshire—ancestor of the present Lord Waveney. Of his personal history very little is now known. When a boy, he was present in the High Church of Edinburgh, on the 23rd July, 1637, the day that the celebrated Janet Geddes flung her stool at the dean, who, for the first time, read Laud's Service-book in public worship; and afterwards, when the boy grew to be a man, he wrote in his history an account of what he

saw on that memorable occasion. On the 7th of May, 1646, he was ordained by the Presbytery lately formed at Carrickfergus, to the charge of the congregation of Cairncastle, situated between Glenarm and Larne. In 1648, he was appointed to act on a committee appointed by presbytery to correspond, in regard to important ecclesiastical matters, with Sir Charles Coote, an officer who, under the Long Parliament, governed the north-west of Ulster.

Though he joined with his brethren in protesting against the execution of King Charles I., yet he did not, like most of them, leave the country for fear of imprisonment. He was one of the six or seven who remained behind, keeping in concealment and preaching to the people in remote and private places. In the dispute with the Independents at Antrim, into which the ministers were unexpectedly drawn in 1652, Adair was appointed to speak for his brethren, and he appears to have managed the business with satisfaction to the people and with credit to himself. In the following year, in company with the Rev. Archibald Ferguson of Antrim, he waited on Fleetwood and the Council in Dublin, craving liberty for himself and his brethren to preach the gospel without taking the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth. On that occasion, when Mr. Ferguson had stated that their scruples at the oath were not founded on political and worldly, but on religious and conscientious reasons, one Allen, an Anabaptist, replied that "Papists would and might say as much for themselves, and pretend conscience as well as they." Mr. Adair showed more courage than discretion by the retort that he made. "Sir," said he, "under favour, it's a mistake to compare our conscience with those of Papists; for Papists' consciences could digest to kill Protestant kings, but so would not ours; to which our principles are contrary." This, of course, touched a sore spot. All were silent; some drew their hats down over their faces, others were angry; and the ministers went home with as little security as they came. Soon afterwards his

house was searched by the soldiery, in hope of being able to trace a correspondence between the ministers of Ulster and the king's party in Scotland. Papers were found of a public nature, reflecting on the Republicans for their treatment of the late king, and, for a little, Mr. Adair was afraid that these papers might be used to his disadvantage; but the next day they were restored to him by a servant girl in the neighbourhood, who, hearing that they were his, took them secretly out of the cloak-bag of the sergeant in command who had lodged the previous night in her master's house.* All cause of anxiety was thus removed. The year after, he went with Mr. Stewart, of Donaghadee, to Dublin, in regard to a public maintenance for the ministers, when the authorities, as already mentioned, agreed to give them salaries from the public purse.

In the year 1660, when the country was looking for the Restoration, but uncertain what religious arrangements it would inaugurate, Mr. Adair attended by invitation the convention held in Dublin, to consult for the good of the Church. Various useful measures were on that occasion proposed and adopted; but it was lost labour. Though Mr. Adair returned to the North, and brought to every one of the ministers assembled in General Presbytery at Ballymena, "a warrant for the tithes of their respective parishes, so far as it was in the power of the Commissioners of Dublin," the whole arrangement was set aside in less than two years; and the Restoration of Charles II. was followed by the establishment of Prelacy on the former basis. Adair was ejected from the parish church in which he had preached for fifteen years, and shared in the sufferings of his brethren. In 1662, he accompanied his friend Stewart on the fruitless deputation to the Duke of Ormond, as already narrated.

The next year he was, like the other ministers,

* The Rev. Classon Porter conjectures, as I think with great probability, that the scene of this venturous feat of the "maid of the house" was Larne.

arrested on suspicion of being connected with Blood's plot. The Earl of Donegal's troops surrounded his house and made him prisoner, and he spent three nights in the jail of Carrickfergus. A letter from Lord Massareene, in Dublin, procured for him afterwards more courteous treatment; and he and his servant were sent up to Dublin, accompanied by a single trooper as a guard. Lord Massareene became bail for his appearance, and for three months he was confined to that noble lord's house and to the city. At the end of that time he was sent home without examination; the fact being that he was quite innocent of the offence for which he was arrested.

In October, 1674, he was removed from Cairncastle * to Belfast, and then became minister of the only Presbyterian congregation then in that town. At a meeting of ministers held in Connor, near Ballymena, on the 22nd January, 1689, the very day that the Convention of Members of Parliament was meeting in London to declare the throne vacant by the abdication of James, and before William and Mary were proclaimed at Westminster, Patrick Adair and John Abernethy were sent to England in the name of their brethren, to congratulate the Prince of Orange on his safe arrival, and to encourage him in his great enterprise. At the council of the northern gentry, held at Hillsborough on the 14th March, 1689, to concert measures for resisting the designs of Tryconnel, Adair and eight other ministers attended, and offered to raise in their districts a large number of able-bodied men willing to take up arms for the cause of William and Mary, a proposal which the council gladly accepted. But the sudden advance of the Irish army made it

* "The house in which Mr. Adair lived, during his stay in Cairncastle, and which was also probably the residence of his immediate successor, . . . is still standing, and presents a rather antique or somewhat dilapidated appearance. In connection with the surrounding farm, it has been occupied for many years by a family named M-Kee: one member of which, the grandfather of the present occupant, being born in the house, lived in it for nearly one hundred years, and finally died within its walls."—REV. C. PORTER, in *Christian Unitarian*, for June, 1865, p. 154.

impossible to carry out the design. In 1690, when King William came to Ireland, immediately before the Battle of the Boyne, he headed a deputation from the Presbyterian ministers which waited on the king, then staying at the Castle of Belfast, and presented him with an address which was kindly received by his Majesty. Death closed the career of this worthy minister in 1694. One of his sons at least, Rev. Wm. Adair of Ballyeaston, entered the ministry.

Kirkpatrick, who was personally acquainted with him, states in his *Presbyterian Loyalty*, that Mr. Adair "was a man of great natural parts and wisdom, eminent piety, and exemplary holiness, great ministerial gravity and authority, endued with savoury and most edifying gifts for his sacred function, wherein he was laborious, painful, and faithful; was a constant, curious, and accurate observer of all public occurrences; and with all these rare qualities, had not only the blood and descent, but the spirit and just decorum, of a gentleman."

The *True Narrative* of Adair had its origin, most likely, in the resolution of that section of the General Presbytery known as the meeting of Antrim, passed in 1672, which recommended Mr. Hall, of Larne, and Mr. Adair, of Cairncastle, "to use diligence about the history of the Church of Ireland." The work was unfinished when the author died. The Synod of Ulster, which met in Antrim in June, 1697, voted to Mr. Adair, of Ballyeaston, forty shillings to defray the expenses of an amanuensis in copying out "his father's collections, containing a history of this Church from the year 1621 to the year 1670." This copy of the MS. was in possession of Dr. James Kirkpatrick (see ch. xviii.) in 1713, when he wrote his *Presbyterian Loyalty*, and it would appear from some notes on the margin that a few years later it was in possession of Dr. Victor Feigson, a well-known layman of Belfast. The autograph perished, and for ninety years after this event the copy also entirely disappeared, no one knowing or guessing where it was deposited. In 1810, the late

Dr. Stephenson, of Belfast, discovered it among the papers of his friend, Mr. Kennedy, of Annadale. It afterwards became the property of the late Dr. Bruce, of Belfast, who kindly lent it to Dr. Reid, then of Carrickfergus, to be used by him in the preparation of his *History of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland*. As the MS. was given to him for a short time only, and as the purpose for which he borrowed it required him to have such an important authority constantly at his hand for reference in the preparation of his first two volumes, he took a copy of it for his private use, and this copy was found among his papers after his death. When Dr. Killen, the continuator of Reid, expressed a desire that such an important document should be given to the press, Professor William Bruce, to whom it then belonged, with the greatest willingness put the original into his hands for the purpose stated. The result is, that a beautiful edition issued from the Belfast press in 1866, and Adair's *Narrative* has now become the permanent possession of the public. Since that time, through the gift of Mr. Bruce, the Adair MS., or, to speak with more accuracy, the copy made from the original, under direction of the author's son, has become the property of the Rev. Classon Porter, of Larne. Mr. Porter, in 1867, stated, through the press, that he has detected several hundred instances where the printed text of Killen's edition varies from the MS.; but, though we must all admit that it is unfortunate such discrepancies should exist, it has not, in my opinion, been shown that any of them is intentional, or affects the sense to any very appreciable degree.

Till Reid's great work appeared, no minister made so important a contribution to Irish Presbyterian History as Patrick Adair. The early portion of it, covering from 1622 to 1640, rests on the basis of Blair's *Autobiography*, a copy of which, it is evident, the writer had before him; but for the period, 1640—1670, comprising the age of the Covenant, the Commonwealth, and the Restoration, it is almost the only authority for our Church history. No other single

work was so useful to Doctor Reid. So finished was it in style and composition, that he could and did transfer with advantage whole sections of it into his work, and it is not too much to say that had this MS. perished in the last century, a gap would have been left in our Presbyterian story that no industry could ever have filled up. Through the liberality of Mr. Bruce, the citations of Doctor Reid, the editorial enterprise of Dr. Killen, and, let us hope, the collations of Mr. Porter, this valuable work may now be said to be beyond the reach of accidents, and will go down to other ages without risk of loss or mutilation.*

The *Narrative* is the only existing work of Adair, prepared with the care necessary for being submitted to the public; but in 1871 I became acquainted accidentally with what I believe to be a relic of his pulpit instructions. In that year, through the kindness of the Rev. Dr. John Kinneir, of Letterkenny, I was favoured with the loan of a stout duodecimo volume, containing some 500 pages of closely written manuscript, and purporting to be sermons by various Irish and Scottish ministers. It appears to be a copy made between 1705 and 1710, of some older volume, which, judging from various marks interspersed through the copy, had been even then lodged in some public collection. It contains sermons by Henry Cock, John Walsh, John Carstairs of Glasgow, Alex. Hutchinson, William Adair, Gideon Jacque, Henry Staples, James Nairne, Robert Douglas, William Keys, and Alex. Synclaire. Most of the volume is taken up with Alex. Hutchinson, who, commencing on June 20th, 1658, and ending 3rd February, 1661, expounds all Mark's Gospel except the last two chapters. Some of these sermons are so imperfect in language, that I am inclined to believe the originals from which the copies were taken must have been the notes of some admiring

* Adair's *True Narrative*; Mackenzie's *Narrative of the Siege of Derry*; Boyse's *Vindication of Osborne*; *Presbyterian Loyalty*, page 165; Reid's *History*; Killen's *Introduction to Adair's Narrative*; *Christian Unitarian*, vol. iv., May and June, 1865.

hearer. The manuscript volume containing them has since been deposited by Dr. Kinnear in the library of Magee College.

At page 386 we have an "Exposition of pt. of the 7 chapt. of Luke, from v. 36 to ye end, by Mr. Wm. Adair at Bull-alley Dublin Novr 10 1672 on a sacrament day." On looking at the matter closely, I noticed that the word "William" was crushed into the manuscript, between the words "Mr." and "Adair," and that it is written in a different ink from that used by the writer of the MS., and in the same ink as that of the table of contents facing page 1, where the name is again entered Mr. *William* Adair. The running title at the head of each page of the sermon is "Mr. Adair's Exposition upon the vii. chapter of the Gospel according to St. Luke." This is the hand of the copyist: the table of contents and the insertion of "William" in the title seem to me in a different hand. In 1672 there was no minister named "William Adair" in the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. William Adair of Ballyeaston, and afterwards of Antrim, was not ordained till 1681. The strong probability therefore is that the author of the sermon was *Patrick* Adair, and I am confirmed in this because it is known that Patrick Adair went up to Dublin on Church business in the middle of October, 1672, (Reid, vol. ii., p. 333,) that is, three weeks before this sermon was preached, and it would be only natural for the minister of Bull Alley to ask him to preside at his communion. The sermon being entered under the name of "Mr. Adair," a copyist or reader at the end of forty years might naturally mistake the preacher for Mr. *William* Adair of Antrim, and insert the initials accordingly. An extract of this sermon is appended—valuable now only as a relic of the oldest historian of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

CAUSES OF THE IRISH MASSACRE (1641).

Next, of that which might be supposed to provoke the Irish to this rebellion, and their designs and encouragements. No doubt there were various grounds which Satan and their own wickedness suggested to them. For, first, as they were natives of Ireland, and conceiving themselves and no others had any right to this country, they retained from the very beginning of the English conquest, and thereafter from the time of the Scottish denization and naturalizing in it, an implacable hatred of both. They saw themselves generally poor and miserable, which was through their idleness, unskilfulness, wasting disposition, and evil managing; and the British living in the land which they counted their own, through their frugality and the blessing of God. Besides, it provoked their evil disposition that they were under the power and government of another nation, and punished frequently for their thefts and robberies. Laws were made against their idolatry and superstition, though these laws for a long time before the rebellion had been very faintly executed, and they had liberty of conscience, as well as other encouragements, as subjects under the King's Majesty, and at his special allowance; but there remained always a grudging in their hearts against the British, as their enemies and oppressors. Yet their ingratitude in this may appear, if we consider the King of England's ruling over them was confirmed by their general consent, renewed and confirmed in divers ages. Yea, they did submit to the English government with all seeming condescendency and willingness. And surely, if they had been capable of being happy, they might have lived exceeding more happy under the English government than ever they had done before under their petty kings of Ireland, where the bulk and multitude met with nothing but barbarous tyranny. None knew what was his own property, exposed to continual blood and confusion through mutual wars amongst themselves. And now they were brought under the protection of the British laws, every one of them enjoying their own estates and properties in peace and tranquillity. Yea, a little before this rebellion, some pretended grievances had been taken off by the king's special gift to the commissioners sent to London from the Parliament of Ireland, no restriction being on them in the business of religion. Finally, at this time they were in the happiest condition that ever they had been in since they were a nation. But that which mainly instigated them to this wicked course was, that they were Papists under the power and conduct of the Roman Antichrist—that whore of Babylon, and bloody persecutor of all who worship not the Beast, who could never be satisfied with the blood of those who own the truth of Christ against Antichrist. Their education and principles in this bloody religion did especially stir them up, being thereto animated by their priests and churchmen, and therein following the track and

course of Papists in other parts of Europe against the Protestants.—*True Narrative*, pp. 74, 75.

DESIGN OF THE REBELLION.

The special things they pretended for their rebellion were, (1) The obtaining their liberty, estates, land, and country, which was, they said, their right, together with the liberty of propagating their religion in Ireland; (2) The king's prerogative, which, they said, was opposed by the Puritan faction in England and Scotland; and therefore, they said, they designed to cut off the Puritan faction especially, though it is observable that, in executing their cruelty, they made no difference among Protestants. For, though Satan had a special anger against the godly party who then went under the name of Puritans; yet, their interests being complex, and not only for their religion, but that they might enrich themselves with the spoil of others, they did promiscuously spoil and destroy all British inhabitants who had but the name of Protestants. And it is remarkable that, whatever was their special envy against the Puritans, yet fewest of these met with the stroke. For very few Nonconformists were then in Ireland, except in the North, and in a few counties there; and these had been driven away into Scotland, and some few to England, before, through the persecution of the prelates at first, and then by the Black Oath, so that few of these persons came into their hands. But in the time of the rebellion they are preserved, under God's protection, in Scotland, and some of the English in England. So that the severity of the bishops was under Providence made a means to prevent that stroke upon those specially appointed to destruction, and it lighted upon those who were either persecutors or neutrals, and went in with the iniquity of the times.—*True Narrative*, pp. 77, 78.

THE FIRST PRÆBYTERY.

The first means God used for this end was the sending over of the Scotch army, consisting of about ten regiments, with whom there came from Scotland divers ministers, who were principled and inclined towards the doctrine, worship, and government at that time in the Church of Scotland; as Mr. Hugh Cunningham, minister to Glencairn's regiment; Mr. Baird, to Colonel Campbell's; Mr. Thomas Peebles, to Eglinton's; Mr. James Simpson, to Sinclair's; Mr. John Scott, Mr. John Aird, and others. They coming along with the army, found it their duty to erect themselves into a Presbytery, and to have their meetings; in order to which they found it necessary to choose ruling elders in the regiments for helping them in carrying on discipline in the army, which the dissoluteness of soldiers did much call for. This motion being communicated to the Major-General, the commander-in-chief of these forces, and to the officers of the several regiments, he did embrace the same, being a man not alienated from the

Reformation in Scotland, and, besides having been sent over by the State of Scotland, who he knew at that time did favour the government of the Church; yea, some special noblemen of Scotland, who then had great rule there, being colonels of regiments, over whom he commanded in chief. They, not being in Ireland themselves, having placed officers over their regiments who were also inclined that way, the motion went on without resistance among, and by the consent of, all the regiments. It is true there were in most regiments of the army, especially in the Major-General's own regiment, officers of bad principles, and worse inclinations and practices; no favourers of religion, nor of the Presbyterian government, nor of the work of reformation; but, as was the title given them in these times, malignants, royalists, cavaliers, etc., much abhorring the setting up of discipline in their bosoms, which might have power to censure them for their drinking and whoring. Yet, through the terror of God upon men in these times, they made no open resistance.

The first Presbytery was held at Carrickfergus on the 10th of June, 1642, where were only five ministers of the army and four ruling elders from the four regiments, who had then erected sessions; viz., Argyle's, Eglinton's, Glencairn's, and Hume's. One of their number, Mr. Baird, preached by desire of the rest, and by appointment beforehand, on Psalm li. and last [18]; another was chosen moderator; and Mr. Thomas Peebles was chosen clerk, in which office he remained during life.—*True Narrative*, pp. 92, 93.

CROMWELL IN IRELAND.

He arrived at Dublin on the 15th of August, 1649, with 9,000 foot and 4,000 horse. Shortly after (August 30) he marched to Drogheda, where was a strong garrison kept for the king, of 2,500 foot and 300 horse, under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, a Papist, who had served the king in England as governor of Oxford. The town was thrice stormed with resolution enough, and as resolutely defended. But in the third assault it was taken, and all in arms put to the sword, to the number of 3,000, being the most resolute soldiers in the kingdom, but consisting of profane Protestants and Irish Papists, who, in the righteous judgment of God, met with a scourge from unjust hands. From Drogheda he marched to Wexford, and there, having been refused at first, he got entry (October 4), and destroyed 2,000 men more of a like sort. And so he went to other chief garrisons, who, being terrified by these first attempts, surrendered on easy terms to him, and thereafter he had not occasion to use the like severity. Thus, having in a very short time broken the forces in Ireland that adhered to the king's interest, and settled garrisons in all parts of the kingdom, he sent down to the northern parts Colonel Venables to command where Monck had done before, and gave permission to Sir Charles Coote to command the forces

in and about Derry and Connaught, and both to join together as necessity called for.—*True Narrative*, pp. 174, 175.

CHRIST IN THE PHARISEE'S HOUSE.

We see that our Lord condescends here to come to the Pharisee's house. *Doctrine*, that our blessed Lord is so condescending that He will not refuse the invitation of any that invites Him. Where persons invite Christ to their houses, He will not refuse them; only it's here to be observed, that, although He comes to the Pharisee's house, yet He comes not into spiritual familiarity with this man. Why? Because the Pharisee did not invite Him to that; he seeks not after spiritual communion with Him, but only to eat in his house. So that whatever way people do seek Christ, they do find Him. Those that seek no more than Christ's outward presence, He will consent to give them that; but those that seek His spiritual presence, He will hear them also in that. For we will find Christ according to that manner and measure we seek Him, and this is observable according to the tenure of the promise and course of His ordinary dispensations. So they that seek but little of Christ find so, and they that seek much of Christ find Him accordingly. And therefore the Church is not satisfied with little of Christ, as in the Book of the Songs. Little seeking of Him finds but little of Him, and much seeking of Him finds much of Him.—*Exposition in Kinnear's MS.*, p. 387.

CHAPTER V.

MICHAEL BRUCE (1657—1688),

MINISTER AT KILLINCHY.

1. *The Rattling of the Dry Bones.* A Sermon preached in the Night-time at Chapel-yard, Carluke, Clydesdale, May, 1672. Small 4to., pp. 42. Ezek. xxxvii. 7, 8. [No place or printer named.] A. C. B.
2. *Six Dreadful Alarms* in order to the right improving of the Gospel, or the substance of a Sermon. 4to. [About 1700.]
3. *Three Sermons* in a volume entitled "A Collection of Lectures and Sermons, preached mostly in the time of the late persecution in Scotland, by those faithful and eminent servants of Jesus Christ, Messrs. Wm. Guthrie, Michael Bruce," etc.

FROM the year 1637, when Mr. Livingstone left Killinchy, the Presbyterians of that locality did not for several years enjoy the advantage of a settled teacher of their own. An effort which they made in 1656 to induce their former pastor, now settled as minister of Ancrum, in Scotland, to return to his Irish congregation, failed; but in the year following he induced a probationer, named Michael Bruce, to come over to Killinchy, and to take charge of their souls. This young man brought with him a letter of recommendation from Mr. Livingstone, dated July 3, 1657, and addressed to Captain James Moore, of Ballybrega, to introduce him favourably to the people. He was received kindly, chosen as pastor, and ordained in the congregation towards the close of that year.

Mr. Michael Bruce is said to have been descended from Robert Bruce, a distinguished minister of the Church of Scotland settled at Edinburgh (1587—1605).

If so, his ancestry was very honourable ; as Robert Bruce was second son of Bruce of Airth, or Stirling, one of the ancient barons of Scotland, and was selected as the minister who enjoyed the honour of crowning, in Holyrood Abbey, Anne of Denmark, queen of James VI. Of this distinguished minister, Michael Bruce of Killinchy was the great-grandson by the mother's side. He proved to be a laborious, faithful, and successful pastor, worthy in every way to be the successor of Livingstone.

The Restoration of the Stuarts involved him, as well as many other worthy ministers, in trouble. In 1661, he was ejected from his church and deprived of his maintenance for nonconformity, by Bishop Jeremy Taylor, whose "liberty of prophesying," it would appear, extended to those only who adopted episcopal rites and forms. He did not leave his parish, however, and he evaded the order for his apprehension by preaching at night in kilns, barns, woods, or any place where publicity could be avoided. Soon after, he began to preach more publicly, and to extend his ministrations to other districts beyond his own ;—conduct, the imprudence of which was blamed by his own brethren, which provoked opposition on the part of the prelates and the civil government, and resulted in his being obliged eventually to flee to Scotland, and to leave his people for a long time without a pastor.

His own country was then, if possible, in a worse condition than Ireland ; nevertheless he acted there with equal fidelity and boldness, preaching the Gospel amid the fields and glens of Stirlingshire, and acting in harmony with the brethren, who, at the peril of life, were then resisting the bishops and the Court. In June, 1666, he was cited to appear before the Council of State in Edinburgh as "a pretended minister, and a fugitive from Ireland," to answer for his "seditious and factious doctrine and practice;" his real offence being, however, that he preached without obtaining authority from the Scottish prelates. For some time afterwards he escaped apprehension ; but at last, in June, 1668,

he was seized near Stirling, and having been badly wounded in attempting to escape his captors, was lodged in Stirling Castle.

On the 18th of June he was carried to Edinburgh, and on the 2nd of July brought before the Council. He admitted, when he was asked, that he had preached and baptized in houses and fields, and defended his practice, as an apostle did before him, by alleging that he was acting by the authority of a power higher than theirs. The sentence of the Court was banishment out of His Majesty's dominions in Scotland, England, and Ireland, with an injunction not to return on pain of death. With this sentence, Mr. Bruce had to enter, in the Council register, a solemn promise, binding himself to comply.

Soon afterwards a letter came from Court, ordering the prisoner to be sent up to London. Thither he proceeded by sea on the 13th of September, and was confined in the Gate-house at Westminster until such time as it would be convenient to send him off as a convict to Tangier, in Africa. While here he sent a petition to the king, stating the circumstances under which he was sentenced, and petitioning for sustenance and release. No attention seems to have been paid to this petition; nevertheless, Divine Providence did succour him in a very unexpected way.

It seems that his imprisonment at Westminster was not very rigorous, and that on several occasions he had been permitted to preach. His style of address attracted auditors not a few, and among others one of the mistresses of the king. Through her influence, it occurred to Mrs. Bruce, who, with the devotion of a true woman, had followed her husband to London, she might procure his release. A new petition was prepared, and through this somewhat irregular channel presented to Charles. It was successful so far, that the king, while refusing to repeal the sentence of banishment, gave the prisoner the right of choosing his place of exile. Tradition says, that on this being intimated to him, Mr. Bruce at once named "the woods of

Killinchy," which the authorities in London no doubt thought was away far in the American forests, or in the valleys of Switzerland. However this may be, the Earl of Elgin procured for him a writ, quashing all past sentences against him, and after an imprisonment of eight-and-twenty weeks, he returned to Ireland with his wife and children, and in April, 1670, found himself settled at Killinchy once more.

He was scarcely two months at home, until Boyle, who had succeeded Jeremy Taylor in the see of Down, summoned him and eleven other brethren to appear before him to answer for the crime of preaching without his authority. Two of them did appear before him at Hillsborough, to mitigate his wrath, if possible; but they met with little success, for he called them "rebels and seducers of the people," and assured them of his determination to visit them with all the severity of the law. Through the interference of the Primate, however, the bishop was induced to relinquish this design, and Bruce met with no further trouble.

In the summer of the year 1670, the Presbyterians of Killinchy built their first church, which, though hastily constructed, served them as a place of worship till the summer of 1714, when it was rebuilt upon the same site.

Down till 1688, Mr. Bruce continued in the faithful discharge of his pastoral duties at Killinchy; but the war of the Revolution swept like a flood over that part of the Co. Down, and he had to take refuge in Scotland. There he became minister of Anworth in Wigton—the parish associated with the name of Samuel Rutherford. He continued there in peace and comfort till his death, in 1693, and was buried in the church of that parish.

What a chequered story! "He was," says Dr. Reid, "thirty-seven years a minister in connexion with two Presbyterian Churches, those of Ireland and Scotland. The first *five* years he spent in peaceful and zealous labours in Killinchy, *three* in itinerant preaching in Ulster under daily dread of fine and imprisonment, and *four* under similar perils in Scotland. Wounded

and taken prisoner, he was nearly *two* years in confinement at Edinburgh and London. Released through the zeal of a faithful wife, he was permitted to return to the early scene of his labours. He then enjoyed an uninterrupted rest of nineteen years. But again driven forth, he spent the remaining *four* years of his life a minister of the parent Church from which he had first received his licence to preach. Yet throughout all these unprecedented vicissitudes, he never changed his principles, or swerved from his integrity. He was indeed a man of unbending rectitude of conduct, and of unshaken attachment to the Gospel."

Mr. Bruce himself published nothing; but notes of no less than five of his sermons were taken down by admiring hearers of his, and afterwards published. This in justice ought to be remembered; for although we can well believe that a man like him, who for so many years was persecuted and imprisoned, had little time to cultivate the graces of style, yet we must think better of him than to suppose him adequately represented by the addresses published under his name. His sermon at Carluke is a mere rhapsody, full of mixed metaphor, bad grammar, and evidences of very questionable taste, having little in it that is the preacher's, except the line of thought and the fervour by which it is distinguished. The second was not published till after his death, and has not fallen into my hands. The remaining three are inserted in a volume containing other sermons by various Scottish ministers. Bruce's texts are Gen. xlii. 25, Ps. exix. 133, and Mark ix. 13.*

THE DRY BONES.

There is two questions I would propone to you the night, and I desire an answer to every one of them. The first question I

* Abridged from a notice of Michael Bruce in *Orthodox Presbyterian* for February, 1831, written by Dr. Reid, the historian. See also Adair's *Narrative*, pp. 259—261; Wodrow's *History*, vol. ii., p. 111.

would propone to you the night is this, What sense have ye of your own sad and doleful condition, and of the sad case and condition of the kirk of God, and of the sin that hath brought sad judgments on you both? For sin and judgment brings the kirk and people of God many times to a low ebb: they have not the sense of it upon their spirits. A second question I would propone to you the night, and it is this, Is there any noise or shaking among your dry bones? Is there anything that looks like flesh and sinews coming up upon them? Is there anything that looks living like to be among the midst of your dry bones yet? Is there anything that says there will be breath put in them, or all be done? Is there anything among you that says ye will be a living armie to God, or all be done? Alas! for my part I think it is a sore matter, deadness long syne, deadness yet for all the judgments we have met with; ye are as far from a living case as ever. O Carluke! are ye upon the bettering hand? O Carluke! are ye going bone to bone yet? But I trow there is sad sumptoms among you, that ye are ay growing worse; and I trow there are sad sumptoms among you that ye are upon the disjoynting hand yet, but not upon the bettering hand. But we may not stand upon prefacing. These words are a similitude borrowed for expressing these two; (1) For expressing the sad case of the Church and people of God at that time; (2) For expressing the gracious condescendence of God to them in that sad case. So if ye will take a view of their words, ye will find two wonders in the bosome of them. The first wonder in the bosome of their words is this; it is wonderful to see the Church and people of God that wont to be strong as an armie with banners, all lying scattered and as a company of dry bones. Secondly, it is wonderful to see God lifting them out of that condition again, after they have put themselves in it. So that for my part I think all God's works like Himself, they are all wonders.—*The Rattling of the Dry Bones*, pp. 1, 2.

THE WOTHER WEIGHT.

There is a fourth lesson I would give you from this, and it is worthy of your marking, and that is, that our Master, when He puts any great or honourable piece of work in His people's hand, or when He gives them any honourable enjoyment under the Cross, He puts it ay so upon their hand that He gives them it with a wother weight. This is a great work to gar dry bones live. That it is therefore He gives them the wother weight with it: "Son of man, prophesie," etc. Is He honouring thee with an excellent enjoyment under thy cross, and is He honouring thee with an honourable work under thy trouble? O then, man, do not mistake Him; He will put a wother weight to hold thee down, that thou may know what thyself is, that thou may carry the impression of thy original on thy heart all thy days, as Jacob, a great prince and prevailer with God; then he

must have a wother weight laid on him with that ; He must touch the hollow of Jacob's thigh, that so he might go halting all his days ; He shall give him some sad excuse with it, that he shall never get up his back again all his life. Is Ezekiel admitted to great manifestations and revelations ! Then he must have *Son of man* almost at every commission that he is sent. Many times we forget ourselves when we meet with the enjoyment, and therefore we must have a wother weight to make us consider what we are.—*The Rattling of the Dry Bones*, p. 12.

CHAPTER VI.

THOMAS GOWAN, M.A. (1660—1683),

MINISTER AT GLASSLOUGH, AND AT ANTRIM.

1. *Ars Sciendi*, sive *Logica* novo Methodo disposita, et novis praeceptis aucta. Opera et Studio T. G., M.A., V. D. M. pp. 464. 12mo. London, 1681. R. L.
 2. *Logica Elenctica*, sive summa controversiarum quae circa materiam et praecepta Logicae agitari solent, in qua etiam novae aliquot quaestiones tractantur. Authore Thoma Goveano, M.A. 12mo., pp. 505. Dublinii, 1683.
- Appended to this work there is a small tract of twelve pages, entitled *Elementa Logicae paucis aphorismis comprehensa*. Per eundem auctorem.

THOMAS GOWAN was a native of Caldermuir in Scotland, where he was born in 1631. About the time of the Restoration he arrived in Ireland, and officiated as minister at Glasslough in Co. Monaghan for several years. In 1667, he removed to the neighbourhood of Connor in Co. Antrim, where he supplied the congregation with preaching, but without appointment as a stated pastor, and taught languages and philosophy. When he was called to Antrim in 1672, he still considered himself as minister of Glasslough, but the "meeting" recommended his transfer from the one to the other on a variety of grounds which are stated to be—1. The parish of Antrim being more considerable than Glasslough. 2. His delicate health in his former place. 3. His usefulness in philosophy and the accommodation in Antrim for his scholars. 4. The great difficulty of planting Antrim in the person of another with the consent of all parties.

At that time John Howe, the celebrated Non-conformist, was acting as domestic chaplain in the family of Lord Massareene, and resided at Antrim Castle from 1671 till 1676. The two ministers united in teaching philosophy and theology, and, according to an arrangement made by Lord Massareene, they were allowed to preach in the parish church after the Liturgy had first been read. To some of the Presbyterian people this arrangement was very objectionable, and they in consequence absented themselves from the preaching of the gospel; and the brethren of the Meeting gave a reluctant consent to it—a consent, which, they took care to insert upon their minutes, was given solely from respect to Lord Massareene. To allay the suspicion which the abortive rebellion of the persecuted Presbyterians in Scotland, terminating in the disastrous battle of Bothwell-bridge, 22nd June 1679, had awakened in the Government, the Meeting of Antrim thought it necessary to send an address to the Lord Lieutenant, in which they expressed their determination to live in obedience to the law. Mr. Gowan was one of the two ministers who presented it to the Duke of Ormond. His philosophical works were published in his latter days, and are now rare. The dead language in which they were composed, and the fact that they have long since been superseded by more popular works, have deprived them of all interest for the general reader; but they are of interest to Presbyterians as showing the scholarly attainments of the men who laid the foundations of the Church in Ulster.

The *Logica Elenctica* is in the British Museum, but it has not come into my hands. A copy of the *Ar's Sciendi* is in the Raphoe Diocesan Library, and through the kindness of the custodian of that ancient collection I have been allowed to examine it. It is beautifully printed, written in elegant Latin, and dedicated to the heir of the noble house of Massareene, his patron and friend. In an address to the reader, he says, "The work is based on the systems of Keckerman and

Burgersdicius, but more particularly on the *Logic of Claubergius*, and a French work, the *Ars Cogitandi*, by an anonymous author." The essence of these two last works he compresses into his treatise, and makes many additions of his own. The latter part of the work is occupied with hermeneutical and critical principles, specially suited to candidates for the ministry. This work must have been a very valuable treatise in its day; but it was prevented from coming into general notice by the death of its author a few years after its publication, and by the circumstance of its being written in a dead language. Though now superseded by new and better books, it remains a monument of learning and industry, which not many country pastors, in these days of universities and colleges, could surpass, whether we consider its comprehensive grasp of the subject, its clear and terse expression of thought, or its elegant Latinity. We give a quotation as an illustration.

Mr. Gowan's book against the Quakers, mentioned in the *Minutes of Laggan*, pp. 237 and 246, if completed, does not appear to have been ever printed, and is now lost. He himself died in the summer of 1683. As a Latinist and a logician, he has had no superior among the ministers of Ulster.*

THE DEDICATION.

Translation.

Nobili ét vere generoso juveni
Domino Clotworthæo Skef-
fingtonio magnificæ familiæ
Massareniacæ hæredi opti-
mæ spei *ἐν παρτεὶν καὶ χαρεὶν*.
Cum de tractu sequenti typis
mandando cogitarem, occasio-
nem mihi oblatam sensi, officii
testandi erga aliquem eorum
quibus arctius devinctus sum.
Cur autem aliis omnibus te,

To that high-born and truly
noble youth Sir Clotworthy
Skeffington, the promising
heir of the noble family of
Massareene, success and joy.
When I thought of committing
the following treatise to the
press, I felt an opportunity
was afforded me of testifying
my respect to some one of
those to whom I am under

* *Minutes of Antrim*, 1671—1691; Sir James Ware's *Irish Writers*, Book ii.; Reid's *History*, ch. xviii., notes 44 and 47.

in hoc negotio prætulerm, rationes fuerunt gravissimæ. Quamquam metuendicausa non deerant, ne quod in hoc genere præstiti meritis tuis minus respondeat. Viliorem autem lucubrationem personæ eximiæ dicare et legendam offerre, non potest ab injuria excusari, nisi animus scribentis, defectus operis compensare putetur. Vilem autem merito dicerem, ob sermonis et stili humilitatem, ut reliqua omnia taceam : lucubrationem vero, quia maxima ejus pars, nocturna luce (si ita loqui liceat) gravioribus interdum negotiis alio vocantibus, scripta est. Verum cum libri non quibusvis nuncupandi sint, sed vel iis, quorum nomina publicis elogiis extare merentur ; vel qui ex eorum lectione proficere possunt (ut nihil dicam de illis qui veritati patrocinentur, cum quicquid hic dicitur in solius rationis clientelam se dedere necesse sit) neminem alium familiarem habui, in quo ambo ista concurrunt. Virtutes tuas in tam tenella ætate prædicare, si esset facultas, animus tamen non est. Has enim malletm luce propria, quam mutuatitia splendere ; sicut et vere splendere incipiunt, et nova quotidie incrementa habituras spero ; nam agnitio quæ veritatem rei ipsius non tantum non superat, sed etiam multum abest ut adequet, ostentationi affinis videri non debuit. Alterum vero quod attinet, licet multa hujus generis optime ab aliis conscripta jamdudum omnium manibus terantur, non tamen desperabam fore ut horum etiam lectione aliquid emolu-

very deep obligation. But there were most weighty reasons why, in this matter, I should prefer you to every one else. Yet I had reason to fear, that my performance might not be commensurate with your deserts. To dedicate a very humble lucubration to a distinguished person, and to offer it for his perusal, falls little short of an insult, except the good intention of the writer be supposed to atone for the defects of the work. This treatise I call *humble*, on account of the poverty of language and style, not to speak of anything else ; but I call it a *lucubration*, because the greatest part of it (if I may say so) was written at night, sometimes amid the interruptions of more important business. But since books are dedicated to none, but either to those whose names deserve to be conspicuous in public inscriptions, or to those who can profit by reading them, (I do not speak of those who can protect the truth, since what is said here needs no protection save that of reason only,) I had no other friend than you, in whom both these qualities are combined. The virtues which distinguish your very early youth, it is not my intention to trumpet forth, even if I had the power. I prefer that they should shine in their own, rather than in a borrowed light ; as in truth they begin to shine already, and will I trust have fresh additions every day ; for an acknowledgment which not only does not exceed the truth, but falls far short

menti ferres. Causam etiam non minimam ipse dedisti, cur opusculum hoc iudicii publici periculum experiretur. Quæ enim sparsim in alio quodam magni simul et nullius nominis autore, eo nempe qui *Artem Cogitandi* compilavit, et contractius in scriptis legisti, hic collecta et accessu non exiguo aucta habes. Hoc etiam accedit, quod, libellum hunc publici juris faciendo, meæ etiam erga te gratitudinis et observantiæ testimonium ederem. Utque eo nomine gratus et acceptus tibi sit, quem, si votis hic quidquam præstari posset; vel tui unius causa multo elaboratiorem et utilio-rem optarem, petit et expetit.

Generositatis tuæ observantissimus

T. G.

of coming up to it, ought not to have the appearance of exaggeration. But as regards the other object, although many things of this kind, excellently written long ago by others, are in everybody's hands, yet I was not without hope that you might derive some benefit by the reading of this also. You yourself therefore to no small extent have been the cause why this little work should run the hazard of public criticism. I have condensed into this work, what you have already read in a more diffuse form in a certain other author, of at once a celebrated and an unknown name—in him, namely, who compiled the *Ars Cogitandi*; and I have enlarged with a lengthened introduction what you have already read in manuscript in a more contracted form. Moreover, by publishing this little book, I would give forth a testimony of my gratitude and regard to myself. That for this reason a work which, if anything here could be accomplished by wishes, I could wish to be more thoroughly wrought out and useful for your sake, may prove agreeable and welcome to you, is the prayer and desire of your most obliged and grateful

T. G.

THE ART OF TEACHING.

Translation.

1. Qui cogitationes suas recte formavit, scientiam quam ipse acquisivit, ad alios propagare, providentia divina eo vocante, tenetur. Unusquisque enim

1. The man who himself has formed sound opinions, is bound at the call of Divine Providence to convey to others the knowledge which he has acquired.

erga alium beneficus esse debet. Melius autem beneficium alteri præstare nemo potest, quam si eum de rebus cognitu necessariis instruat, ab errore tueatur, aut jam errantem in viam veritatis reducat. Deinde alios instruendo, scientiam nostram augemus, et confirmamus. Hinc etiam ad maiorem diligentiam excitabimur, ut rectius unumquodque ipsi percipiamus, ne, siquid vitio in cogitatis nostris inveniatur, multorum reprehensionem subeamus.

2. Docenda sunt non quælibet, sed quæ docenti et discenti cognitu tum utilia, tum aliquo modo necessaria sunt. Unde multum reprehendendi, qui in rebus nullius vel exigui momenti tradendis, et quæstionibus futilibus ventilandis, vitam et operam perdunt, et bonis discentium ingeniis, ad præstantiora a Deo concessis, abutuntur.

3. In docente requisitur primo, ut quæ aliis traditurus sit, ipse probe teneat, quantum rei ipsius natura, et mentis humanæ imbecillitas patitur. Deinde ut varia rerum multarum notitia imbutus sit, ut pro omni occasione, quælibet dubia a discipulo proposita solvere queat. Tertio requisitur peritia linguarum in quibus scientiam est traditurus; ut quæ recte mente percepit, perspicue et apte eloqui possit. Denique requisitur prudentia,

For every man ought to do good to his neighbour. But nobody can confer a greater benefit on another, than to instruct him in things necessary to be known, with the view of protecting him from error, or of bringing him back from error into the way of truth. In the next place, by teaching others our own knowledge is increased and strengthened. By this also we shall be stirred up to greater diligence in order to understand everything more accurately, lest if anything wrong be found in our thoughts, we may incur blame from many.

2. The matters to be taught are not anything we like, but things that for teacher and pupil are both useful, and to some extent necessary to be known. Much are they to be blamed, therefore, who waste life and labour either in communicating what is of little or no consequence, or in ventilating profitless questions, and who thus pervert the talents which God has bestowed upon their pupils for more excellent ends.

3. The first thing needed in a teacher is, that, what he communicates to others, he should himself sincerely believe, so far as the nature of the subject and the weakness of the human understanding permit. The next is, that he shall possess an extensive acquaintance with many matters, so that on every occasion he may be able to resolve the doubts proposed by the pupil. The third thing required is skill in the languages in which

ut quid cuique, quantum, quomodo, et quo ordine tradendum sit, intelligat. Quibus omnibus continetur id quod dexteritas in docendo vocatur.

Ars Sciendi, pp. 307, 308.

he is about to communicate knowledge, so that what he correctly understands, he may be able clearly and appropriately to express. Lastly, common sense is needed, in order that he may know what, how much, in what way, and in what order, to distribute to each individual. It is in all these things that what is called skill in teaching consists.

CHAPTER VII.

DANIEL WILLIAMS, D.D. (1667—1687),

MINISTER AT DROGHEDA AND DUBLIN.

Discourses, in six vols. 8vo. London, 1738—1760. M. C. D.

DANIEL WILLIAMS was born at Wrexham, the assize town of Denbighshire, in Wales, about the year 1643. He did not enjoy the advantages of a University education, but so far as it was possible he made up for the want of it by increased diligence, and was admitted a preacher before he was nineteen. The period of the Restoration in England was not favourable to Dissenters; so that when an opportunity offered to become chaplain to the Countess of Meath, he accepted it with readiness, and came to Ireland in attendance on her Ladyship. After exercising his ministry for some time at Drogheda, he received an invitation to become pastor of Wood Street, Dublin—a congregation which for two centuries has had on its roll of pastors some celebrated names.

For nearly twenty years Mr. Williams laboured as a Presbyterian minister in the Irish metropolis, with acceptance and success. During his residence there, he married a lady of “distinguished piety, of an honourable family, and considerable wealth;” but this accession to his means was used with moderation, in order that he might be better able to benefit others both in life and in death. On the accession of James II. it became evident that a storm was brewing in Ireland, and the attachment of the minister of Wood Street to

Protestant principles was too well known to make it safe for him to reside in Dublin. The result was, that in 1687, the year before the Revolution broke out, he resigned his congregation and removed to London. There he followed his avocation as a Dissenting minister, and exercised great influence among his brethren of the same profession. It was he who prevailed upon them not to vote an address to King James approving of the toleration granted them by the exercise of the king's prerogative independent of Parliament, preferring, as he said, that himself and his co-religionists should be exposed to all their former hardships, rather than that they should give any public approbation to a dispensing power destructive of the liberties of their country.

In 1688, Mr. Williams was chosen pastor of the congregation of Hand Alley, Bishopsgate Street, London, where he continued to minister till the end of his life. He was the friend of Richard Baxter, and it is said that King William himself sometimes condescended to ask his opinion on Irish affairs. In 1691 he succeeded Baxter at the Pinner's Hall Lecture; but the opposition to him was so strong, owing to his known hostility to antinomianism, that, accompanied by Mr. Howe and Dr. Bates, he withdrew and set up a separate Lecture at Salter's Hall. In the religious controversies and ecclesiastical politics of the time, he always took a warm interest. In 1709, the degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow; the latter, out of personal respect for him, enclosing its diploma in a silver box. Upon the accession of the House of Hanover, Dr. Williams was appointed by the Dissenters of London to present their address to King George I., which he did on the 28th of September, 1714. He died at the age of seventy-two, on the 26th January, 1716, and was interred in the cemetery of Bunhill Fields, where so many celebrated Dissenters are buried. There is a steel engraving of him in the second volume of Calamy's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, from the original painting

in the library. Dr. Williams, having no children, left all his wealth to religious and charitable objects. He lived moderately, for the simple object that he might have the more to give to the cause of God. He founded charity schools, of which, in 1841, there were eight in existence, one in Chelmsford, and seven in his native province—the Principality of Wales. He left a sum to provide two persons to preach the Gospel to the American Indians. He instituted Bursaries in Glasgow University, for the purpose of encouraging young men to study for the ministry. He bequeathed money to the poor of Wood Street congregation, and to the French Refugees, in whom he took an interest. He directed the interest of £1000 to be devoted to the preaching of the Gospel in Irish, and appointed four persons in Wood Street and New Row congregations to administer the benefaction. The surplus of the estate was to be expended on grants to Dissenting ministers, and to the widows of Dissenting ministers generally.

The greatest foundation established under his will was the Theological Library that is called by his name. For this purpose, he purchased the books of his friend Dr. Bates in 1699, added his own to the collection, and bequeathed money for the erection of a suitable building and the establishment of a public library for the use of Dissenters. In 1729, the institution was opened at Redcross Street, London; but in 1864, the site of this building being required for the Metropolitan Railway, a new edifice was erected in Grafton Street, in the immediate vicinity of University College, and the library was removed there in 1873. It consists of upwards of 30,000 volumes, and is peculiarly rich in the literature of the Puritan times. It is vested in trustees, thirteen ministers and ten laymen, who were originally English Presbyterians, but have long ago lapsed into Unitarianism and Socinianism. This change of religious profession on the part of the managers has not interfered with the utility of the institution; with the greatest pleasure and courtesy the trustees extend its benefits to all Dissenters, and

ministers of all creeds meet there as on common ground.

The writings of Dr. Williams consist mainly of sermons and controversial pamphlets on theology. These were collected after his death, and issued in an edition of six volumes. All his publications were issued from the press after he left Ireland, during his ministry in London. When on a visit to Ireland, he preached a sermon on the 18th of July, 1700, before the Societies for the Reformation of Manners in Dublin, which was subsequently published. Though he was an orthodox Presbyterian, and took a great interest in Presbyterian affairs, and left his whole fortune for religious, educational, and charitable purposes, mainly but not exclusively with a view to their benefit, perhaps there is none of the great Dissenting denominations which derives so little advantage from his munificent benefactions, as that religious body—Presbyterian Calvinists—to which the donor himself belonged. But the truth of God does not depend for life upon wealth and endowments.

The last words of his will are, "I beseech the blessed God, for Christ Jesus' sake, the Head of His Church, (whose I am, and whom I serve,) that this my will may, by His blessing and power, reach its end, and be faithfully executed. Obtesting, in the name of this great and righteous God, all that be concerned, that what I design for His glory and the good of mankind, may be honestly, prudently, and diligently employed to those ends, as I have to the best of my judgment directed." *

MEDITATIONS OF A CHRISTIAN.

How indebted am I to Jesus Christ and free grace! How much indebted for what I have received, and for what greater things which I may assuredly expect! O from what misery

* *Life*, prefixed to Williams' Works; Calamy's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, vol. ii., p. 640; Armstrong's *Sketches of the Dublin Ministers*; Evans' *Sketches of all Religions*; *Literary World*, Nov. 21, 1873.

shall I be delivered ! to what happiness and honour am I to be admitted ! I deserved the sorest pains which I ever felt ; the curse I was once under did bind upon me not only these, but the torments of hell too. My release from endless destruction I no ways merited ; but this cost my Redeemer a bitter life and a painful death after the greatest labours. He gave me some rest already, when I was wearied under guilt. How often hath He supported me under pains, sweetened them to me by His love, as well as sanctified them by His power ! These are the effects of His abounding grace ; but they yield greatest delight, as they are an earnest of that universal perfect rest in glory. This He is securing for me and ripening me for. O that I could esteem, love, serve, and honour my Lord, as becomes a poor sinner so vastly indebted to Him !—*Sermon on the Death of Mr. Quick ; Works, ii., p. 221.*

HIS CALVINISM.

Reader, I declare against this error [the Socinian notion of faith, and the imperfect obedience of faith, being the ground of justification], and have affirmed (1) that faith alone receives Christ and His merits ; (2) that it is the righteousness of Christ alone which is the material or meritorious cause of justification ; (3) that our faith, repentance, and works are not a jot of the material or meritorious righteousness, by or for which we are justified.

They say, Christ died that we might be saved if we believe. I say, Christ died that the elect should believe, and believing have life through His name.

To any one that knows the Five Points, wherein the Arminian controversy consists, I have said enough fully to acquit me. I am positive for absolute certain election ; for Christ's not dying alike for all—for the elect He died to secure their actual reconciliation, for others His death is sufficient, and real offers of salvation are made to them on the terms of the Gospel, notwithstanding their being condemned by the law. Again I say, man is corrupt, and without the grace of God he cannot believe. All the elect shall be (though without violence) brought by efficacious grace to believe, and finally persevere. All which I oft assert in my book.—*Defence of Gospel Truth ; Works, vol. iii., p. 339.*

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SOCINIANS AND PRESBYTERIANS.

The Socinian principles are summarily reduced to that of the Trinity, and that of Christ's satisfaction. They deny the Deity of Christ as the Son of God by eternal generation : we affirm it. They deny the personality of the Holy Ghost : we affirm it. . . . The Socinians deny that Christ died a proper sacrifice for sin : we affirm it. They deny that Christ's sufferings were the punishment of our sins : we affirm it. They deny that

Christ satisfied Divine justice, or died in our place : we affirm He satisfied justice, and that Christ died in our place and in our stead ; He died that we might not die who were liable to die ; He gave His life for us. They say Christ died for our good, not by way of merit at all strictly : we affirm that Christ properly merited all the saving good we enjoy. The good they say Christ died for is the giving us an example of patience, confirming His doctrine, and at highest, the ratifying the covenant wherein our own faith and obedience is by acceptilation accepted instead of a perfect legal righteousness, and this exclusive of Christ's satisfaction and righteousness, and that He attends to this is what they mean when they say Christ in some sort may be said to give us life. But we affirm, that the good Christ merited is reconciliation with God, pardon of sins, and eternal glory, etc.; as well as that He gave us an example of patience, etc. And we truly affirm that we have no righteousness that answers the law but Christ's ; and that Christ's righteousness is imputed to us as that wherein we stand before a just God, and is as available to us for salvation as if we had done and suffered what Christ did : and we renounce all our own obedience and works, legal and evangelical, as any part of that righteousness, in or for which we are pardoned, accepted, or glorified.—*Reply to Mr. Mather's Postscript ; Works*, vol. iv., pp. 272-3.

CHAPTER VIII.

JOHN MACKENZIE (1673—1696),

MINISTER OF DERRYLORAN OR COOKSTOWN.

1. *MS. Notes of Sermons*, preached in the year 1681. J. K. L.
2. *A Narrative of the Siege of Londonderry*, or the late memorable transactions of that city faithfully represented to rectify the mistakes and supply the omissions of Mr. Walker's account. The most material passages relating to other parts of Ulster and Sligo are also inserted from the Memoirs of such as were chiefly concerned in them. 4to., pp. 64. *London*, 1690. [Reprinted at Belfast and at Derry, 1861.] M. C. D.
3. *Dr. Walker's Invisible Champion Foiled*; or an Appendix to the late Narrative of the Siege of Derry; wherein all the arguments offered in a late Pamphlet to prove it a false libel are examined and refuted. pp. 13. *London*, 1690. [Reprinted at Belfast, 1861.] M. C. D.

THE historian of the siege of Derry was a licentiate of the Meeting of Down. In 1673, he was ordained by the Rev. Thomas Kennedy of Carlan, on behalf of the Meeting of Tyrone, as minister of Derryloran in county Tyrone—a parish, of which Cookstown is the principal town. A MS. volume, containing skeleton sermons which he preached in various parts of Ulster in 1681, is still preserved in his own handwriting, and gives a favourable impression of his orthodoxy of sentiment and knowledge of the Scriptures. The first of these sermons, preached at Loughbrickland on the 5th of June, 1681, and copied from the original MS., is now published for the first time. Imperfect as it is, we prefer to preserve this relic, rather than give extracts from a book so well known as his *Narrative of the Siege*.

Mr. Mackenzie was one of the eight Presbyterian ministers who took refuge in Derry during the troubles, and served as chaplain to one of the regiments engaged in its defence. When the city was relieved, the Rev. George Walker, who had acted as one of the governors during the siege, went to London, and published what he called "A True Account" of the events which had occurred; in which he contrived, with an affectation of great humility, to put himself prominently forward as the guiding spirit and director of the defence, and took credit to the Episcopalian party, of which he himself was a member, for the successful management of the whole affair. In the dedication, addressed to King William and Queen Mary, he thus interpreted the providence that was manifest in the deliverance:—"God has espoused your Majesty's cause, and fights your battles, and for the Protestant religion, and by *making use of a poor minister*, the unworthiest of the whole communion of which he is a member, would *intimate to the world by what hand* He will defend and maintain both your Majesty's interest and the religion you have delivered from those that were ready to swallow both up." With the narrow and covert bigotry of a cleric, rather than the frank and honourable spirit of a soldier, Walker endeavoured to use the heroic defence of the city to promote personal and party ends, notwithstanding that it was well known at Derry that the overwhelming majority of the garrison were Presbyterians, and that the young apprentices had shut the gates in opposition to the advice of the Protestant bishop. Without directly saying it, he sought to leave, and did leave, the impression that the defence of the city was owing entirely to himself and the Episcopalians, and he sets forth in full the names of the clergy of that persuasion who were present at the siege. All that he had to say for the Presbyterian ministers is, that they "were equally careful of their people, and kept them very obedient and quiet;" but they were so obscure, it seems, that their names had escaped his notice. He had invited Mackenzie to act

as chaplain to his own regiment, and had mentioned the names of nearly all of them when he passed through Edinburgh, on the 14th August, 1689; but, strange to tell, when he reached London at the end of that month, they were all forgotten, and in the *Account* which he published on his arrival there, he spoke of them as "nonconforming ministers to the number of seven, whose names I cannot learn." But, stranger still, he had learned the names of two others, neither of whom was in the city at the siege; and, while he goes out of his way to name them both, he brings against one of them an accusation, which was afterwards refuted on the testimony of the most honourable gentry in Ulster.

The pamphlet of Walker containing these representations was published in London in September, 1689, and ran through several editions. At the Meeting of Antrim, held in Belfast on the 5th of November following, a communication was received from the Irish ministers then in Scotland, suggesting that a deputation from the Church should be sent to London to give an impartial account of the siege, and to lay the social condition of the country before Government. The Derry brethren agreed as to the expediency of this, but thought it could not be done at an expense of less than forty-five pounds, which ought to be fairly distributed over the three Meetings, or, as we should say, Presbyteries, of Down, Antrim, and Laggan. Down, when applied to, refused to raise any part of the funds: Antrim agreed to do what it could, but desired Mr. Mackenzie and Captain James Gladstones, a Presbyterian officer who had distinguished himself in the siege, to meet them for consultation on the matter at Templepatrick, on the 26th of November. When that day arrived, the two gentlemen did not appear, but a letter was received from them, in which they said that Down slighted the matter altogether, and it did not appear to them that Antrim was very much in earnest. The Antrim ministers felt hurt at this reflection, as they did not consider that they had given any just ground for it. On the contrary, they were anxious that the

deputation should go; and the only alteration that they desired in the draft address, forwarded to them from Derry, was the addition of a statement to the effect—that “many of them who maintained Derry in the siege were of this country” (Antrim), and also a representation of “the sad plunderings and robberies committed in this country by the Irish army, so that if rents and tithes be exacted without moderation, the country will unavoidably be broken, so as they can’t live.” They had collected some portion of the necessary expenses; but when they found afterwards that Mr. Mackenzie had gone in his private capacity to London, without waiting for any ecclesiastical appointment, they returned the money to the contributors, so much did they feel hurt by his behaviour.

The sudden determination of Mackenzie to start for England, without waiting for the formalities of Church appointment, was owing most probably to the conviction that, if he were to wait till the funds were first collected over the congregations of Ulster, his representations would come too late to be of any effect, and that the false statements of Walker’s pamphlet stood in need of immediate correction. That work came into his hands in December, and its defects and general unfairness must have impressed him deeply, for he reached London in January, 1690, and soon afterwards issued his *Narrative of the Siege*. Dunton, in his *Life and Errors*,* states that he and his friend Thomas Lawrence, a Presbyterian bookseller in London, were partners in the publication of the work. It is by far the most complete and satisfactory of the original records of the transactions, which occurred without and within the walls of Derry in 1689. It bears the stamp of an impartial and truthful history, told by a man of good sense, who knew the whole affair from first to last; and in this respect it is very different from Walker’s, the design of which is to glorify the writer, and to advance the credit of his party. Nor is it to be forgotten that we have it under the hands of eight gentlemen, in-

* See vol. i., p. 205. London, 1818.

cluding Sir Arthur Rawdon, Sir Arthur Langford, and Colonel Upton, that the part of the narrative relating to the siege was read over on 1st of March, at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand, London, in the presence of Colonel Adam Murray, Colonel Crofton, Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, Captain Alexander Sanderson, and Captain Samuel Murray; and that, before it was printed, it was assented to by them all as a correct narrative. It thus comes down to us as the best authenticated and the most trustworthy of all the original records of the siege.

After Mackenzie's publication appeared, there was no rejoinder by Dr. Walker in person; but an anonymous writer came out with a pamphlet, entitled *Mr. John Mackenzie's Narrative of the Siege of Londonderry, a False Libel, in defence of Dr. George Walker, written by his friend in his absence*. The main drift of this reply was to inform the public that *they* (meaning the writer) had not seen the *Narrative* before it was printed, and that *they* did not approve of it. This called out Mackenzie, who, in his pamphlet entitled *Dr. Walker's Invisible Champion Foiled*, overwhelmed his anonymous opponent with an array of evidence as to the truth of every point which had been called in question. Walker soon after fell at the battle of the Boyne, fought on the 1st of July, 1690; and in consequence of that event this unpleasant controversy was allowed to drop.

The Antrim Meeting did not forget the slight, that Mackenzie had cast upon them by supposing that they were as much disinclined as Down to pay their share of the expenses of a deputation, and by his going off as a private individual, without waiting for a public appointment; for, when an application was made to them by the Congregation of Maghera to aid in having Mr. Mackenzie settled there as a minister, they declined to interfere. The following is the minute of their meeting, held at Antrim, 3rd November, 1691, in regard to the matter:—

“Maghera. It is referred by the Synod to this meet: to further the settlement of yt place by Mr. Ja: Ramsey, who, as

appears by his letter to them, absolutely declines it. Appears from thence commissionat Jo: Clark and Jo: O'Cahan presenting their desire to have Mr. M'Kenzie settled with ym, and for some supply in the mean time. As for the first part of their desire, this meet: cannot concern themselves in it; but for supply appts Mr. J: Scott on Sab: come fortnight. And whereas there is a letter from the Brn. of Tyrone, showing the people's foresaid desire, Mr. Joshua Fisher is apptd to write back to these Brn. that they can't meddle in the settling of Mr. John M'Kenzie in Mahara, in regard that there is something else relating to Mr. M'Kenzie depending before the Meet: of Route, refer'd ym by the Synod, and to declare that they are not able to give them any other supply either now or after."

What the "something else relating to Mr. Mackenzie depending before the Meeting of Route" was, cannot now be ascertained; probably it may have been a call to some congregation within their bounds. But, whatever it was, it would be unfair on the ground of such a vague expression to infer that it was something regarding his moral character. Had it been so, the congregation of Maghera would not have called him, nor would the Tyrone brethren have aided in his removal. The fact was, that Mackenzie belonged to another presbytery: Maghera was far beyond their bounds; and they had not yet recovered from the effects of the slight that Mackenzie, without sufficient grounds, we must admit, had cast upon them the previous year. For these reasons the Meeting of Antrim declined to interfere in a matter, which did not concern them very much.

He did not therefore remove from Derryloran. Nothing more is known of him, except that he revisited London in 1694, and had an interview with King William, for the purpose of inducing him to protect the Presbyterian ministers from prosecutions in the Diocesan Courts.

Mr. Mackenzie died at Cookstown in 1694, in the 49th year of his age. His lineal descendants are still members of the Third Congregation of Cookstown.*

* MS. *Minutes of Antrim* (1683-1691): Mackenzie's *Narrative* and *Invisible Champion*; Reid's *History* and MS. *Catalogue*: Killen's Introduction to the *Narrative*: MS. letter of Rev. J. K. Leslie, dated 13th December, 1867.

SERMON PREACHED AT LOUGHERICKLAND, JUNE 5TH, 1681, FROM Col. i. 14: "*In Whom we have redemption through His blood,*" etc.

It is even the very chief of and most eminent mercy of all the mercies God hath vouchsafed upon mankind, viz., His giving Jesus Christ to be the Saviour and Redeemer of the elect world, and that Jesus Christ willingly undertook the work, and laid down His life to be the propitiation for their sins; and, as it is so, so we ought to look upon it as such, and to see how God deals with us when He makes so many mercies and discoveries and offers of Himself to attend our lot, as we are daily meeting with, both in ordinarie occasions and at such solemnities as these are: upon consideration of which we are obliged to entertain a true disposition of gratitude to God for all we receive from [Him]. This is all the return we are able to give, even thankfulness. And now we see He continues His ordinances with us, whereby He sets forth to sale, as it were, the rich things contained in the Covenant of Grace. The termes is easy—without money and without price on our part: Christ hath purchased all, and, in signification of His [love, He] is willing to make a covenant with [us], likewise to put to His seal for confirmation and ratification of it. And what is the design of all this? It is to carry on and make this redemption spoken of in the text sure to all the children of God, viz., elected ones.

But now to come to the words. The Apostle, in writing to those Colossians, he shows:

1. That salvation was only to be had in and through Jesus Christ. Cap. i. 12, 13, 14, etc.

2. That the ceremonies of the law, philosophical speculations, and human traditions, which it seems some endeavoured to urge upon them, were inconsistent with Christ and His fulness for salvation. Cap. ii. 4, 8, 18.

3. To excite them to seek happinesse higher than in any earthly thing. Cap. iii. 2.

But now, particularly in this chapter, the Apostle, after his salutation (verses 1, 2), he joynes prayer and thanksgiving together for them (verse 3), and gives reasons why he did so (verse 4), and this by way of commendation of them, and . . . for several things together, with praise for several mercies to them till the 12th verse; and then he resumes the [subject] of his thankfulness for benefits both to himself and to them, and especially for deliverance from the power of darkness (verse 13). This is held forth:—1. Privatively, by delivering or pulling us away by force from the Power of Darkness; 2. Positively, by translating us into the Kingdom of His dear Son.

In this verse we have read he insists upon further, and testifies, that all blessings are purchased through Christ to us, this redemption containing in it the sum of all mercies and blessings: and in them we have—

1. The great benefit purchased, viz., redemption.
2. The purchaser, Jesus Christ.
3. The price laid down for it, His blood.
4. The persons redeemed, viz., all believers.
5. An explication of this redemption, viz., the pardon of sins.
6. The certaintie of this redemption, and the conveyance of it even in Christ.

For *redemption*: it hath several acceptations in Scripture, as (1) Corporal; Psalm . . . and cxxx. 7. (2) Ceremonial; Ex. xiii. 13, 15. (3) Political; Ex. xxi. 8. (4) Spiritual; Luke i. 68. And [5] eternal . . . 28. Heb. ix. 12.

There is a twofold redemption spoken of in Scripture:—(1) That by which the elect are redeemed from the bondage of sin and death, which is by the price laid down to the righteous judgment of God, Eph. i. 7. (2) That by which the elect are possessed of heaven, and completely freed from all sin and misery whatsoever. The first is already past—the actual payment of the ransom: the latter is the confirmation of the former love of God, Luke xxi. 28; Rom. viii. 23; Eph. iv. 30.

We shall not insist: the word being thus opened, we shall observe:—[1] That it is only Christ that hath purchased redemption for His own elect. [2] As it is Christ that hath purchased, so the price He paid for it was His own blood. These are here clear in the words. We shall at this time speak to [the first of] these two as the Lord shall enable us and time allow. Now to the *First*:—

For the clearing of it we would consider, 1. That all believers as well as others are by nature in a state of bondage. This is clearly insinuated in the very notion of redemption. 2. That as they are not only in a state of bondage and slavery, that in order to redemption requires a greater strength than that by which they are held, but also they are captives to law and justice, so that of necessity there must be a price laid down ere they can be set free; and the price being paid, their redemption is lawfully made. Christ, He both hath the greater power, Eph. iv. 8; Col. ii. 15; and also hath laid down the price, 1 Peter i. 18, 19; 1 Tim. ii. 5.

In prosecuting of this point, we shall show (1) that it was He that redeemed His elect: (2) what they are redeemed from: (3) what are the means whereby this redemption is applied to believers: (4) give some reasons for it: and (5) a word or two of application.

I. For the *first*, see Rev. i. 5, 6; Tit. ii. 14.

II. For the *second* thing, viz., what are they redeemed from: Answer—

(1) They are redeemed from sin. (1) From the guilt of sin: Rom. viii. 33—35; “Who shall lay anything to the charge of God’s elect? it’s He that justifieth,” etc. (2) From the punishment of sin: Rom. viii. 1; “There is no condemnation to

them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after," etc. (3) From the filthiness and pollution of sin : Eph. v. 25—27 ; "That He might sanctify and cleanse it by the washing of water through the word, that He might present it to Himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle," etc. 1 Peter ii. 24 ; Heb. ix. 14. (4) From the power and dominion of sin : Rom. vi. 14 ; "For sin shall not have dominion over you ; for you are not under the law, but under grace :" and 1 Peter ii. 24 ; "Who Himself bare our iniquities in His own body on the tree, that we being dead to sin," etc.

(2) They are redeemed from this present evil world : Gal. i. 4 ; "Who gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from this evil world," etc.

(3) They are redeemed from the wrath of God : 1 Thess. i. 10 ; "To wait for His Son whom He raised from the dead, even Jesus, who hath delivered us from the wrath to come."

(4) They are redeemed from death : Heb. ii. 14 ; "That through death He might destroy him who had the power of death, that is, the devil."

These things will be clear if we consider these things. (1) Consider God's eternal decree, Eph. i. 4, 5, 6. (2) Consider God's intent in sending Christ to the world, Gal. iv. 4, 5, 6. (3) Consider Christ's end in dying, Tit. ii. 14 ; Luke i. 74.

III. For the *third* thing—the means by which this redemption is carried out as to us ; and they are all God's own ordinances, those of His own appointment and instituting, as the word, sacraments, and prayer : Matt. xxviii. 20 ; "Them to observe all whatsoever I have commanded you."

(1) The Word then, and especially the preaching of it, is the mean by which the Spirit of God works faith in the heart, whereby we lay hold on Christ for salvation, and are united to Him. See for this, Rom. x. 14, 15, 17 ; 1 Cor. vi. 17.

(2) The sacraments are means of this also, as being seals of God's covenant whereby the elected person hath a full right given to the purchased redemption ; for by them the Spirit conveys and exhibits and applies Christ and the benefits of redemption to them that are the worthy receivers. So that the sacraments serve to represent Christ and the benefits of the new covenant, Gen. xvii. 10 ; and also to seal and apply Christ and the benefits of the new covenant, Rom. iv. 11.

(3) Prayer is a mean of this also, as it draws the soul near to God, and is that which brings the poor soul to a fuller measure of nearness and communion in God. If it be gone about, it [must be done] (1) with sincerity, Heb. x. 22 : (2) with humility, Psalm x. 17 : (3) with faith, James i. 6 : (4) with fervency, James v. 16 : (5) with perseverance : (6) with waiting for a return, Matt. vii. 7.

IV. For the *fourth* thing, viz., Reasons :—

Reason 1. Because of His own free grace and love—nothing

in us deserving of it : John xv. 16 ; “Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you.”

Reason 2. Because of the covenant of redemption, transacted between the Father and the Son from eternity, John xvii. 9, 12.

Reason 3. Because none other could perform the work but He alone who was God-man : any others’ payment had been but of a finit[e] extent, but this was infinit[e].

Reason 4. Because our necessity required it absolutely, otherwise we should never have been happy, and seeing God had ordained some to everlasting life, and this to be the way of it, it was necessary he should doe it.

V. For the *fifth* thing, viz., the application. And

[USE] I. Is it so that it is only Christ hath purchased redemption to the elect ? then this serves to inform us :—

(1) That the state of all the elect is a happy state ; Christ hath purchased redemption for them. It is a happy state, if we consider what they are redeemed from—which was before spoken of : 2, what they shall be possessed of in due time, even to be made kings, Rev. i. 5, 6 : and of the kingdom prepared for them, Luke xxii. 29—those mansions which Christ hath prepared for them, John xiv. 2.

(2) That the glory of this their blessed state is only due to Christ who hath purchased it to them with His own blood, Heb. ix. 12 ; “By his own blood He entered into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us.”

The excellency of this state which we are brought into will appear more fully, if we consider the state we were in by nature, viz., slavery and bondage : and this slavery will appear—

(1) If we consider who keeps us captive, even Satan, 2 Cor. iv. 4 ; Eph. ii. 1, 2, 3 ; 2 Tim. ii. 26.

(2) The prison wherein we are kept captive, even the very state of unregeneration ; this is the state of black nature void of God, Eph. ii. 12.

(3) The guards that keep the creature in this prison, viz., God’s commination—“The soul that sinneth it shall die :” and also judicial obduration that lyes upon the poor creature in this his prison, Rom. i. 24 ; Psalm lxxxi. 12.

(4) What is the slavery which a poor sinner is subjected to in this bondage ? 1. He is a slave to sins, John viii. 34 ; Rom. vi. 6, 17, 20. 2. To God’s wrath ; we are still under the curse, Gal. iii. 10. 3. To the world, so as we but wallow in the dust, so that we must be [deliver]ed from it, Gal. i. 4. 4. To death, Heb. ii. 14, 15, etc.

USE II. Is it so ? then this serves for tryall to set thee on work to say whether thou be of the redeemed ones for whom this redemption is purchased ; those whom Christ sets free are free indeed, John viii. 34, 35.

(1) If thou be of them, thou wilt be a diligent and serious usemaker of the means of grace. 2 Peter i. 5.

(2) Thou hast felt the word powerful, bringing in light to thy soul. Acts xxvi. 18.

(3) Thou hast felt it a humbling and an exciting mean to the making thee cry out, what shall thou doe to be saved. Acts xvi. 30.

(4) Thou will be employed not in Satan's service, but in Christ's. 1 Cor. vi. 20.

(5) You will be mourning for grieving of Christ, who did interpose Himself for us when we were under God's wrath. Zech. xii. 10, 11, 12.

(6) Thou will be delighting in the society of the godly. Psalm xvi. 2, 3.

USE III. Is it so, that it is only Christ that hath purchased redemption for the elect? then this serves to reprove

(1) All professors that rely upon and trust too much to their own works and performances, as if they were able to purchase life by them themselves. Such were the proud Pharisees spoken of, Luke xviii. Beware of this, lest ye deceive yourself.

(2) All who look for remission of sin which is one great part of this redemption, by the mediation of saints and their own doing of penance. Such are the Papists at this day. The Apostle tells us, there is but one Mediator betwixt God and man, the man Christ Jesus.

SHUTTING OF THE GATES OF DERRY.

This morning early Mr. Phillips sent another messenger, expressing his sense of their danger from so ill a crew, and advising them to take care of their own safety. The messenger also told them that he had left some of the foremost companies within two miles of the town, the rest being on their way. These circumstances concurring struck a mighty terror and consternation into the Protestant inhabitants. Several cabals were held in the streets; all were persuaded there was such a design as the fore-mentioned letter suggests, and they looked on these new levied men as the most likely tools for the execution of it. Alderman Tomkins, who brought the copy of the fore-mentioned letter, consulted Mr. Gordon, a Nonconformist minister,* what was expedient to be done, who not only advised the shutting of the gates, but wrote that day to several neighbouring parishes, to put themselves into a posture for assisting the city, if there should be occasion for it. There was some muttering among the mobile about shutting the gates, which Alderman Tomkins at first privately encouraged; but when he, with Alderman Norman, and some others, had consulted the Bishop, and found him altogether averse to it, they were unwilling to be concerned; and indeed, however divers of those who made some figure in the town wished the thing were done, yet none of them thought

* He was minister of the congregation of Glendermot.

fit to be themselves active in it. But in the little cabals which several of the city youth had, when they put it to the question, whether they should shut the gates, most of them were inclined to it, so much the rather because Mr. Gordon had encouraged and incited several of them thereto. By this time about three companies of the fore-mentioned regiment were come to the Water-side, with two officers, a lieutenant and ensign. The officers, leaving the men, ferried over, and came to the Deputy-Mayor and sheriffs, with their Potent. One of the sheriffs (Mr. Kennedy) suspected the design of these youths, and intending to quarter the soldiers that night on the other side of the water, had given them a secret hint to be prepared next morning, if they intended to prevent their coming in. But whilst they were about consulting their strength, the Irish soldiers having, as is supposed, some intimation of their design, made all the haste they could over, and came to the landing-place, about three hundred yards from Ferry Gate. The youth observing this, about eight or nine of them (viz :—Mr. Henry Campsie, Mr. William Crookshanks, Mr. Robert Sherrard, Mr. Dan. Sherrard, Mr. Alexander Irwin, Mr. James Steward, Mr. Robert Morrison, Mr. Alexander Cunningham, Mr. Samuel Hunt, with whom soon joined Mr. James Spike, Mr. John Cunningham, Mr. William Cairns, Mr. Samuel Harvey, and several others) drew their swords, ran to the main guard, seized the keys without any great opposition, and came with them to the Ferry Gate, drew up the bridge, and locked the gate, the Irish soldiers being advanced within sixty yards of it. From thence they went to secure the other three gates, and, having placed guards at each of them, met in the market. So happily did these resolute youths nick the very minute of their design, and upon so seemingly rash and desperate action did the preservation of that important place out of the hands of the Irish depend—the greatest events in the chain of providence being often so contrived by exquisite wisdom as to hang upon the slenderest links in it. This sudden turn extremely surprised the graver citizens of the town, who, though loath enough the Irish soldiers should enter in, yet dreaded the consequences of shutting them out. But the Deputy-Mayor, the Sheriff, the two Irish officers, with other Papists, and some Protestants accompanying them, came to the market-place, and both by promises and by threats endeavoured to prevail on the mobile to desist from so rash an enterprise, but all in vain. They had in the meantime sent some to secure the magazine, which, the mobile perceiving, sent a party to seize it, one of whom (viz., Mr. Campsie) being shot by the sentinel, one Linegar, a reputed Papist, Linegar was seized and sent to jail, and the noise of Campsie's being wounded increased both the number and the resolution of the mob. In the meantime, the Bishop of Derry, with others, came to the market-place, and made a

speech to the multitude to dissuade them from so inconsiderate an undertaking, wherein he represented to them both the danger of it to themselves, and the unwarrantableness of it, as it was a disobedience to their Sovereign. But the dangers they saw at present made greater impression on them than any feared for the future ; and their dull heads could not comprehend how it could be so great a crime to shut the gates against those whom they believed sent thither to cut their throats ; and they were too much concerned to make good what they had now done, to hear any longer harangues about it. The Deputy-Mayor also attempted once more to dissuade them, but to no purpose. The Irish soldiers, in the meantime, stood at the gate, fretting at their present disappointment, that they should be forced to wait like scoundrels, where they hoped to domineer as lords, till one, Mr. James Morrison, a citizen, having in vain warned them to be gone, called out aloud, “Bring about a great gun here,” the very name whereof sent them packing in great haste and fright to their fellows on the other side the water.—*Narrative of the Siege of Londonderry*, pp. 9—11.

CHAPTER IX.

JOSEPH BOYSE (1683—1728),

MINISTER AT DUBLIN.

1. *Indiciae Calvinisticae*; or some impartial reflections on the Dean of Londonderry's Considerations that obliged him to come over to the communion of the Church of Rome, and Mr. Chancellor King's answer thereto, in which he no less unjustly than impertinently reflects on the Protestant Dissenters. In a Letter to a Friend. pp. 68. *Dublin*, 1688.
2. *A Vindication of the Rev. Mr. Alexander Osborne*, in reference to the affairs in the North of Ireland. pp. 28. *London*, 1690. A. C. B.
3. *Remarks on a late Discourse of William, Lord Bishop of Derry*, concerning the inventions of men in the worship of God. pp. 191. *London*, 1694.
4. *A Vindication of the Remarks on the Bishop of Derry's Discourse about Human Inventions*. 1695.
5. *Sermon on the Death of Queen Mary*. Published in a pamphlet with a Sermon of the Rev. N. Weld. 1695. M. C. D.
6. *The Case of the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland* in reference to a Bill of Indulgence represented and argued. pp. 3. [Published anonymously,] 1695. T. C. D.
7. *The Case of the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland* in reference to a Bill of Indulgence, *vindicated* from the exceptions alleged against it in a late Answer. [This Answer was written by Bishop Pullen.] pp. 13. 1695.
8. *A Sermon before the Societies for Reformation in Dublin*, January 6th, 1698. Neh. xiii. 15—22. 4to., pp. 28. *Dublin*, 1698. R. L.
9. *A Vindication of the True Deity of our Blessed Saviour*, in answer to Emlyn's *Humble Inquiry*. 1703.
10. The Difference between Mr. E. and the Dissenting Ministers of D. truly represented.
11. *Sermons preached on several subjects*. 2 vols. M. C. D.

12. *Sermon on the Death of Queen Anne.* 1714.
13. *Sermon on the Accession of George I.* 1714.
14. *Remarks on a Pamphlet issued by William Tisdal, D.D., and intituled The Case of the Sacramental Fast stated and argued.* pp. 63. *Dublin*, 1716. M. C. D.
15. *Funeral Sermon for Sir Arthur Langford.* 1716.
16. *Sermon at the Ordination of Dr. Leland.* 1716.
17. *Popery Proved a Different Gospel from that of our blessed Saviour : Gal. i. 8, 9.* 4to., pp. 22 and 29. *Dublin*, 1718.
18. *Preface and Postscript to Abernethy's Seasonable Advice.* 1722.
19. *Sermon on John xiii. 34, 35, preached at Londonderry, June 24th, 1722.* pp. 32. *Dublin*, 1723.
20. *Discourses on the Four Last Things.* 1724.
21. *Funeral Sermon for Mrs. Mary Choppin.* 1724.
22. *Funeral Sermon for Dr. D. Cumyng, preached at Wood Street, 20th September, 1724.* M. C. D.
23. *A Vindication of a Private Letter concerning the overtures transmitted to the General Synod assembled at Dungannon, in June, against the Rev. Mr. Macbride's printed exceptions. In a Letter to the Reverend Ministers of the Presbyterian Persuasion in the North of Ireland.* 1726.
24. *Sole Headship of Christ over the Catholic Church, in opposition to the Papal Supremacy.*
25. *Works.* 2 vols., folio. *London*, 1728. M. C. D.

THOUGH the most important element came from Scotland, all parts of Great Britain contributed a part, both in membership and in the ministry, to the early Presbyterianism of Ireland. Dr. Daniel Williams, as we have seen, was a Welshman. The subject of the present sketch was a true-born Englishman.

Joseph Boyse was born at Leeds, in January, 1660. His father was a Puritan who had spent a part of his life in the New England colonies, but who, under the more favourable turn events had taken in the Commonwealth time, had returned to his native country. He himself was educated at Kendal, in Westmoreland, and afterwards at a private academy at Stepney. Like many other Dissenting ministers of that age, he did not enjoy the advantage of a university education, but was obliged to enter on his public work without it. About 1680, he engaged in ministerial duty, and soon afterwards was selected for the office of domestic chaplain in the family of the Countess of Donegal. This engage-

ment brought him into acquaintance with Ireland, which was destined to be his future home. After officiating for some time as Minister of the English Congregation of Amsterdam, he was chosen colleague to the Rev. Daniel Williams, in the congregation of Wood Street, Dublin, in 1683.

He proved to be a man of studious habits and of rare controversial power. He took a very distinguished part in the polemical and political discussions of his time, more particularly those involving the interests of Protestant Nonconformity. His publications extend over a period of forty years. When Dr. Manby, the dean of Derry, published his reasons for becoming a Roman Catholic, and Dr. King, afterwards the well-known archbishop, in his renegade hatred of the stock from which he sprung, went out of his way, in his reply, to attack the Presbyterians, Mr. Boyse took both of them to task in his *Vindiciae Calvinisticae*, published so early as 1688. When Dr. Walker, the *soi-disant* governor of Derry, had most gratuitously stigmatized the Rev. Alexander Osborne of Newmarket, as "a spy of Tyrconnel," Mr. Boyse vindicated his conduct and character in a pamphlet, the historical importance of which fairly entitles it to what it has not received—a place in the collected edition of his works. When his old antagonist, Dr. King, became bishop of Derry, and employed argument to induce, no less than rigorous authority to compel, the Presbyterians of his diocese to worship in the parish churches, Mr. B. brought his controversial experience to the aid of Mr. Craghead of Derry, and the two ministers made a successful defence of their position; so much so, indeed, that his Lordship eventually gave up the attempt as hopeless to convince them by reason, and reverted to the more congenial weapons of abuse and of disabilities inflicted by Government. Boyse's connexion with the case of Emlyn, will more properly be noticed when speaking of that amiable but unfortunate minister. His sermon on *The Office of the Scriptural Bishop* was originally published in a two-volume edition of his

sermons which appeared in 1708, and might possibly have escaped notice, had it not been answered by two Dublin curates, the Rev. Edward Drury and the Rev. Matthew French, and had it not received the still higher honour of being publicly burned by the Irish House of Lords, acting on the advice of the Irish Prelates of the Episcopal Church. To the most formidable of his antagonists, Mr. Drury, Boyse wrote an elaborate reply; to the bonfire argument of the bishops, there could of course be no answer.

The Romish controversy and the legal toleration of Dissenters, were subjects which engaged much of his attention, and to the discussion of which his pen made some important contributions. Even the Quakers did not escape him. Some anonymous queries, published during his lifetime, and calling upon the Quakers, more especially those of Queen's County, to show cause for their opinions, were published in the collected edition of his *Works*, and, when thus acknowledged by their author, drew out *A Serious Reply* from one Samuel Fuller, a member of that body. This reply, though it professes to have been written before Boyse's death, did not appear till some time afterwards.

He lived to witness, and to some extent to take part in the non-Subscription Controversy of the Synod of Ulster. Though he himself was sound and orthodox in doctrine, he sympathized more with the non-subscribers than with their opponents, mainly upon the ground—that to exact from a minister subscription to a creed, seemed to him an interference with the right of private judgment. A series of original letters touching less or more on this point are still in existence, from one of which I give an extract as being hitherto unprinted. These are addressed to the Rev. Thomas Steward, D.D., of Bury St. Edmunds, and are now (1875) in possession of Sir Edward Reid of Londonderry. They are six in number, and were written in 1725 and 1726.

The writings of this learned and estimable minister were so much prized by his contemporaries, that, in the last year of his life, a collected edition of them was

issued in two volumes folio, accompanied by a commendatory preface from some of the most eminent ministers of London. In this collected edition many sermons and treatises were incorporated which had not previously appeared in print; but the tracts which we have numbered 2, 6, and 10, were unfortunately omitted. Emlyn expressly ascribes No. 10 to Boyse; but it is possible that others may have shared in its composition, and that it was omitted for that reason. He died a few months after his *Works* had issued from the London press.

The latter days of this eminent theologian were clouded with sorrow. When health and strength declined, the Rev. R. Choppin was appointed his colleague, and relieved him from the weight of pastoral duties. But there was a sorrow that no human help or sympathy could alleviate. His son Samuel gave early promise of great ability, but turned out to be a fool and a profligate. Sent to study at the University of Glasgow, he got married before he was twenty, and brought home a wife to be a burden on his father's slender resources. The genius of that son in after days elicited encomiums from Pope, Fielding, and Dr. Johnson, and his sad story, illustrative of the deep degradation to which perverted powers may descend, still finds a place in the largest of our biographical dictionaries.* His father did not live to see the worst of his wild career, but the little that he did see of it embittered and shortened his days. After a ministry of forty-five years, Boyse died on the 22nd of November, 1728. His sympathies with the non-subscribers had in his latter days somewhat chilled the esteem in which he was held by the orthodox ministers of Ulster; but, notwithstanding this, he is entitled to the praise of a sensible and judicious writer,

* Mr. Boyse, Junr., was a member of the deputation that presented the address of congratulation sent by the Synod of Ulster on the accession of George I., in 1714. The other members were Sir Alexander Cairnes, Edward Brice, Esq., and Mr. Samuel Haliday, afterwards Minister of the First Congregation of Belfast.

who was true to Presbyterian principles and doctrine throughout his life, and rendered them good service with his tongue and with his pen.*

SITTING AT PUBLIC PRAYER.

As to this account, I shall only briefly subjoin that I am truly sorry there are so many that by sitting in public prayer have given some occasion for this censure of the Bishop's. For though I doubt not real infirmity is a just excuse for not standing; yet it is too probable that too many under that notion too far consult their ease; for standing is generally used by Dissenters in England, even in those places where many of the people go as far to their meetings. And for that passage alleged, 2 Sam. vii. 8, I do truly think there is some weight in what the Bishop has offered to render it probable that the word should be translated, David *stayed* or *abode*. And certainly ~~so~~ many plainer and more numerous examples of *kneeling* or *standing* are to be rather imitated by us, than this doubtful one of *sitting*. So that for such as use this slothful posture without real necessity, to indulge their ease, I cannot excuse them from irreverence in it, and hope they will not persist in a practice so offensive to their brethren elsewhere, and disliked by their pastors. And methinks they should be sensible of the indecency of it, if they consider that they themselves universally kneel or stand in closet and family prayer, and it is unaccountable why they should not as universally do it in public prayer, where their bodily strength will permit. But then I must add, as to his Lordship, that as he has no reason to reproach the Dissenters in general with the unseemly practice, so, since the ministers in the North have so faithfully declared to their people their dislike of it, they can no more justly be upbraided with it, than the conforming clergy with all that toying and trifling, and that more open irreverence that is too common in many parish churches, and much more in the cathedrals.—*Remarks on the Bishop of Derry's Discourse; Works*, ii. 98, 99.

THE NEW TESTAMENT BISHOP.

Long custom for many ages has affixed those ideas to the name of Bishop, which were wholly unknown in the Apostle's time, when these sacred writings were penned. And, indeed, if the bishopric or episcopacy that the Apostle speaks of were the

* Boyse's *Works*; Drury's *Discourse*; Fuller's *Serious Reply*; Armstrong's *Sketches* of the Dublin Ministers; Reid's *History* of the Presbyterian Church; Ree's *Cyclopædia*.

same thing that too many of those apprehend it to be, who most vehemently aspire to it, viz., a grand and pompous sinecure, a domination over all the churches and ministers in a large district, managed by others as his delegates, but requiring little labour of a man's own, and all this supported by large revenues, and attended with considerable secular honours. I say, if the bishopric the Apostle speaks of were no other than this, I should despair of being able to vindicate the truth of this saying. We must not therefore bring our own preconceived opinions of the bishop's office to the Holy Scriptures, but borrow our notion of it from thence; and then I doubt not you will easily see and acknowledge the truth of what the Apostle speaks concerning it, *that whoever desires it desires a good work.*

* * * * *

A bishop being the same thing as an inspector or overseer, it will greatly tend to clear the nature of his office to consider whom he is represented in Scripture as taking the charge and oversight of. And if we take an impartial view of all those passages wherein bishops are mentioned in Scripture, I doubt not we shall find that *a particular church* was the proper object of a bishop's inspection and care. It was a particular flock he was to oversee, to feed and rule, and that usually in conjunction with several others as his colleagues in the same office and charge.

* * * * *

Upon the whole, we never once read in Scripture of those called elders or ministers of the Gospel, as any part of the scriptural bishop's charge. They are nowhere mentioned as subjected to his authority, or deriving their ministerial power from him, and exercising it in subordination to him as their superior or governor. The Scriptures do indeed suppose these scriptural bishops to have been under the direction of the Apostles, and those Evangelists whom they employed in the settlement of the churches they planted, but never suppose the presbyters to be under theirs. On the contrary, the office, as well as name of elders and bishops, was then the same, and a Christian flock and church was the object of their joint inspection and care. And there seems to be this obvious reason why the Apostle ordained several such elders or bishops in every Christian Church, not only for the benefit of those particular churches themselves, but for the speedier propagation of Christianity round about them; and especially that there might be in every such church a seminary of pastors fit to take the care of their churches, when the larger diffusion of the Gospel and conversion of infidels might give a proper occasion to erect them.

I have resolved to confine myself to the Holy Scriptures, or else it were not difficult to show that even when the name of bishop and elder came to be distinguished, the bishop was no

more for some considerable time than the senior pastor of a particular flock or congregation, which he governed in conjunction with the rest of the elders of it. Such the bishop of Ignatius appears to be, notwithstanding all the magnifying expressions he uses to distinguish him from, and give him the preference before, the rest of the presbyters. A church was a Christian flock united to their bishop, and every bishop had one altar and communion table for that one flock. There is, saith Ignatius, to every church one altar and one bishop, together with the elders and deacons. And this primacy of order, which the eldest presbyter first claimed on the account of seniority, was after given upon the people's election, and rather with a regard to merit and abilities than mere seniority, but without any real distinction of office.—*The Office of a Scriptural Bishop*; *Works*, vol. i., pp. 80—82.

THE SYNOD OF ULSTER IN 1726.

I have no pleasing account to give you of our Northern Brethren. The divisive humour still prevails among the most ignorant and injudicious of their people, and is too much underhand encouraged by such as were active in the late shameful rupture. Mr. Abernethy himself has malcontents in his congregation, that have petitioned the General Synod's Committee for a new erection. The Committee referred it to the Presbytery of Templepatrick, and they have ordered them a supply. Mr. Higinbotham, though a subscriber, is yet in danger of having a new erection to weaken his congregation, for writing against the overtures, and protesting against the rupture at the last General Synod. The non-subscribers have almost finished their narrative of the General Synod's Proceedings from 1720 to 1726, with observations thereon. And this will probably rather irritate than convince those concerned in their exclusion from synodical communion. The ministers in Dublin and the South have declared their resolutions to maintain communion with them. Mr. Haliday has just newly published his answer to Mr. Iredell's letter, and as I hear very justly exposed the weakness of it. Mr. Nevin is also preparing an answer to that part of Mr. Macbride's pamphlet that particularly concerns himself. I have been much solicited to answer Mr. Masterton's reply to our postscript to Mr. Abernethy's Defence of his *Seasonable Advice*. But I have no great fondness for stirring in a wasp's nest. Mr. Weld passed a just censure on it when he said it was the weakest, but the most virulent paper he had usually ever read. Your friend Mr. Grey, I am told, is forming a scheme for returning to Taboyn, and leaving Usher's Quay in the lurch. Mr. Boyd's reputation and interest there is almost sunk. This rhapsody is all material that I have to acquaint you with, unless I add that the new Presbytery the last Synod

erected for Dublin have met twice to do little or nothing, and indeed are so ill-pieced, that I hope they will not answer the divisive purposes they were intended for. Mr. Craghead and Mr. Macquay still attend our weekly Monday meeting, and only attend theirs for form's sake. But Mr. Iredell still declines them out of regard to his Northern brethren.—*Original MS. of a letter addressed to Rev. Mr. Thomas Steward, Bury St. Edmunds, and dated "Dublin, November 1st, 1726."*

CHAPTER X.

ROBERT CRAGHEAD (1658—1711),

MINISTER AT DONAGHMORE AND LONDONDERRY.

1. *An Answer to a late book, intituled A Discourse concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God, by William Lord Bishop of Derry*: wherein the author's arguments against the manner of public worship performed by Protestant Dissenters are examined, and by plain Scripture and reason confuted; his mistakes as to matters of fact detected; and some important truths concerning the spirit of prayer and external adoration, etc., vindicated. 4to., pp. 160. *Edinburgh*, 1694. T. W.
2. *Advice to Communicants* for necessary preparation and profitable improvement of the great and profitable ordinance of the Lord's Supper, that therein true spiritual communion with Christ may be obtained, and the eternal enjoyment of God sealed. 18mo., pp. 168. *Glasgow*, 1695. [Reprinted in 1714, 1758, 1805, 1838, 1855.] M. C. D.
3. *An Answer to the Bishop of Derry's Second Admonition to the Dissenting Inhabitants* in his Diocese, especially as to matters of fact relating to the public worship of God; wherein his misrepresentations are again discovered. 4to. Preface xii., and pp. 166. [No place.] 1697. M. C. D.
4. *Advice for Assurance of Salvation*. pp. 184, 24mo. *Belfast*, 1702.
5. *Walking with God* explained by Scripture rule and pattern, and proved to be the duty of all to endeavour it. [Posthumous.] *Belfast*, 1712.

LIKE most of the early Presbyterian ministers of Ulster, Robert Craghead was a Scotsman. He became minister of Donaghmore in the county Donegal so early as the year 1658. The Commonwealth was then drawing to a close, and when the Restoration of

the monarchy brought back the Irish prelates to power, he was deposed in 1661 for refusing to conform to the Established Church. In the persecuting times which followed he did not desert his parish, but remained with his people and ministered to them privately, contriving as best he could to elude the bishop and the law. He continued thus employed down till 1689, when the near approach of King James's army and the threatening attitude of the country, compelled him and his family, in common with a large portion of the Protestant population, to take refuge in Derry.

The multitude cooped up within the walls of the city, and the scanty provision made for sustaining them through a protracted siege, rendered it desirable that as many of the non-belligerent population as possible should depart, in order that the others might be the better able when freed from all encumbrance to defend the place. On the second day of the siege Mr. Craghead left the city, accompanied by a part of his family; but the next day he was overtaken and robbed by the enemy. He succeeded, however, in making good his way to Glasgow, where the citizens treated him and other refugees from Ireland with the greatest hospitality and kindness—a fact of which he makes grateful acknowledgment in the dedication of his *Advice to Communicants*, addressed to the Provost, Council, and inhabitants of that generous city. During his sojourn there, he officiated as minister of Blackfriars Church in the High Street, and sat as a member of the Presbytery of Glasgow. He returned to Ireland soon after peace was restored in Ulster, and was invited to become minister of the Presbyterian congregation of Derry on the 1st of July, 1690—a day memorable in Irish history as that on which the two kings, James II. and William III., met to settle their quarrel at the Boyne.

In his new charge Mr. Craghead was brought into close connexion with Bishop King, with whom, when chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Mr. Boyse of

Dublin had already measured swords, and who occupied the see of Derry in the Established Church from 1691 till 1702. The controversy which this polemical bishop originated, in attempting to coax the Presbyterians to follow his own example by deserting their Church, is faithfully described by Dr. Reid,* and therefore we need not enter upon it here; but the representations which he gave of the Presbyterians were of such a nature, as to call forth against him two antagonists, Mr. Boyse and Mr. Craghead. The latter was too old to gird on the armour and wield the weapons of a controversialist, but in the circumstances it would have been cowardly not to take up the gage of battle when it was thrown down. Considering that he had no practice as a writer, and no grace of style to commend him, but simply an honest heart and a good cause, he did not acquit himself badly. This led to the publications, marked in the list of his works 1 and 3.

The first of these is his *Answer to the Bishop's Discourse*. The dedication "To the Right Worshipful the Mayor, the Aldermen, and Burgesses, of the city of Londonderry, and of the Presbyterian Persuasion," is dated April 18th, 1694, and explains the circumstances in which the work was written. It follows the bishop with the greatest minuteness through all his statements in regard to the different parts of Christian worship—praise, prayer, hearing, bodily worship, and celebration of the Lord's Supper; indeed, with so much minuteness as to make his reply dry and uninteresting, more particularly as it is entirely void of the wit or grace of allusion absolutely needed to make writing of this sort pleasant to the reader. His reply is upon the whole more substantial than it is vigorous or effective, being entirely deficient in that freshness and beauty of expression which attracts attention, as well as in the pith and in the keen incisive humour which makes an opponent wince. That was evidently not the *forte* of the good old man. He con-

* *History*, ch. xx. That Bishop King himself was a renegade from the Presbyterians is known from McBride's *Animadversions*, p. 30.

cludes with an eloquent practical address—"To all my well-beloved Friends of the Presbyterian Congregation of Londonderry." Owing to his being so far from the press, the proofs do not seem to have ever known correction, for the book is very inaccurately printed, and the punctuation slovenly in the extreme.

In his *Answer to the Bishop's Second Admonition*, he examines, with great care, the charges thrown out by Dr. King against the Presbyterian clergy, particularly in regard to the numbers attending public worship, the frequency of celebrating the communion, the public reading of the Scriptures, etc. It has several letters appended, one from Ferguson of Burt, another from Abernethy of Coleraine, etc., by way of illustration and proof of his statements; and the whole work is dedicated to James Lennox, Esq., Mayor of Derry, one of his congregation, to whom he bears the honourable testimony, that from a tender age God engaged him in the way of truth and godliness, and inclined him "to be an early sufferer for His cause."

Upon the whole, Craghead was ill adapted both in taste and training for polemic strife; whereas, on that field, King was "a man of war from his youth." It was in the department of practical religion, to which his other treatises belong, that the minister of Derry was best qualified to shine. The quiet duties of feeding the flock and of guiding them to the green pastures, were his most congenial avocations.

The subject-matter of the *Advice to Communicants*, which is dedicated to the Provost, Council, and inhabitants of the city of Glasgow, may be known from its title. It views the ordinance of the Lord's Supper purely in its spiritual and practical aspects, and aims to aid the private Christian in preparing for its reception and profiting by its observance. The works marked 4 and 5, I have never seen; their existence is known to me only through Dr. Reid's manuscript *Catalogue*.

About 1711, Mr. Craghead grew very infirm, and

became inadequate to the charge of pastoral duty. The congregation first gave a call to his son, and afterwards to the Rev. James Bruce of Killileagh, but the Synod refused to sanction the removal of either to Derry. Before a successor was found in the person of the Rev. James Blair, the aged and pious minister was no more. He had died on the 22nd of August, 1711.*

CAUSES FOR GRATITUDE IN DERRY.

God hath much to require of Derry, more than other places in point of gratitude. Augustine (*Epist. ad Marcell.*) speaking of gratitude piously saith, "What better thing can we bear in mind, express with our lips, record with our pen, hear more joyfully, consider with greater pleasure, or what better fruit can we bear, than gratitude?"

It cannot therefore be unseasonable to put you in mind of these things, though ye know them, or to improve this occasion for the help of others hereafter, to retain a due impression and regard to the great works of God; there being no people in these kingdoms who ever had more special and immediate appearing of sovereign dominion wisdom and mercy than this city, if it be considered that after vast numbers of people were frightened into it as a place of refuge, not knowing of one another nor what they should do when within these walls, having no ruler but God alone; as of different persuasions, so of different sentiments; many consulting a surrender on terms as most rational, some few resolved against it, of which I was an eye-witness; many secret enemies within corresponding with those without; a potent army under good conduct close about the city; streets, lanes and walls, often as in fire with multitudes of bombs, and many killed in houses; provisions failing and soldiers almost starved, yet sallying out waxed valiant in fight; when their enemies strong and full, found not their hands, but fainted in the day of battle; when not only men's bodies were faint and sick with famine, but, hope of relief being deferred, made their hearts sick also; yet when weakest were animated to that heroic resolve to put a period to their own miseries and perpetuate their loyalty by fighting to death, when they could stay no longer within these walls, rather than yield. I know of one fainting man who said, "Within these three days we must either surrender or be dead men by famine," but was smartly

* Craghead's *Works*: MS. *Minutes of the Synod of Ulster*: Reid's *History* and MS. *Catalogue*.

taken up by others replying, "He was not worthy to live who spoke it, and while there was dog or cat in Derry yet remaining, there should be no surrender;" and further told him, "You shall eat that hat on your head ere we yield." At this time the city was all over death and corpses, and rare to see a mourner for the nearest relation when buried; many fainting in the streets for want of the fruits of the earth; the city then appearing for no other use but to be a common sepulchre to them all; nothing remained but hope against hope. Only by the good providence of God there were many godly praying persons in the place, both citizens and strangers, who were acquainted with calling on God long before they came into this distress. These prayed without ceasing, and the Hearer of prayer did graciously so far condescend to some of them, that [they] during the whole siege and in greatest extremities were comforted by the hope of deliverance in God's due time, and some of them being ministers, of what persuasion I shall not so much as name, that all may join together in due praises, "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy Name give glory, for Thy mercy and for Thy truth's sake." For, when human strength was gone, then did the God of mercy appear, and His own arm brought salvation, sending good to the fainting remnant, through the fire of their enemies on every side, they gnashing their teeth and melting away; and then by Divine power and mercy, the place of death was made a beginning of reviving and life to the whole nation. . . . Hath God appointed salvation for walls and bulwarks, when there was no strength to defend our walls of stone and clay? Shall it be said of this city, Thou hast forgotten the God of thy salvation, and hast not been mindful of the rock of thy strength?—*First Answer to Bishop King.* Dedication.

UNFREQUENT COMMUNIONS.

Our author should be more sparing in his censures than to charge our persuasion with a criminal neglect of communions, these thirty or forty years past; if he will please to consider that a persecuting party of his own made our communions much more rare than otherwise they would have been. No doubt he doth wisely conceal this from the world, which we cannot easily forget, how often our ministers were driven to corners, and forced to remove from their own congregations; having no opportunity either for preaching or celebrating the Lord's Supper, and often so furiously driven from their work, that neither night nor day were they permitted to preach. I was in some measure a sharer in these sufferings, though others, and better than I, had a larger measure of them. We were more hunted by day and night than the greatest malefactors in the kingdom, private houses being searched for us in the night season, lest any should be found preaching or praying. I have

been for a long time, that my nearest neighbours durst not come into my house, to hear a chapter of the Bible read and expounded to them ; and at length forced to leave the congregation, my habitation, and family altogether, not knowing of any hiding-place from the rage of persecutors, but in Him, who hath been the dwelling-place of His people in all generations, and their constant refuge in the day of evil. And nothing so much as pretended against us, but that we did not comply with that manner of worship performed by our persecutors.—*Answer to the Bishop of Derry's Second Admonition*, pp. 29, 30.

CHAPTER XI.

THOMAS HALL (1646—1695),

MINISTER AT LARNE.

A Plain and Easy Explication of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, confirmed with plenty of Scripture proofs; very useful to all, especially to those of weaker capacity. 18mo., pp. 248. Edinburgh, 1697. [2nd Edition, pp. 193. Edinburgh, 1710.] M. C. D.

THE early history of this venerable minister is unknown. He was about twenty-six years of age when he came as an "expectant" or licentiate to Ireland, and soon afterwards, in 1646, he was settled at Larne. At the time of his settlement the Presbyterians were in possession of power, and, in consequence of this, Mr. Hall, in common with his brethren in Ulster, occupied the parish church, and received the tithe. The rise of Cromwell and the Independent party, however, soon put an end to this state of things. The action taken by the Presbytery in issuing their celebrated protest against the execution of Charles I., and the refusal of the ministers to take the oath of allegiance to the Republican Government, involved most of them in trouble. Some were apprehended and imprisoned, others fled, and others concealed themselves from dread of the authorities.

At the time when this occurred, Mr. Hall was away in Scotland, on ecclesiastical business, and he seems to have remained there till the storm blew over. If he visited Ireland between 1649 and 1653, his stay must have been short. We find him officiating in Erskine,

within the Presbytery of Paisley, from October, 1649, till May, 1650; while on the 2nd of November, 1653, he is one of five ministers at Maybole, in Ayrshire, who subscribe a paper saying that they were banished from Ireland for loyalty to the king.

The Republican Government, as its power became consolidated in the hands of Cromwell, gradually relaxed its severity; and when the banished ministers returned one after another to their charges in Ireland, the authorities took no notice of them. Mr. Hall was one of the number; for we find him attending the Meeting of Antrim, held at Broadisland on the 11th of October, 1654—the first meeting of Presbytery (for the Meeting was a presbytery in everything but the name) of which any official record now exists. Towards the close of Cromwell's time the ministers, though deprived of the tithe of their parishes, again found themselves in favour with the State; first a liberal salary of £100 per annum, fully equal to £400 now, was allowed them; and eventually their right to the legal income of their parishes was admitted. This arrangement was scarcely made, however, when it was broken, in consequence of the death of Cromwell and the subsequent Restoration, soon after which Mr. Hall found himself among the ejected ministers.

The years which followed, were years of great hardship. The ejected ministers stayed among their people, and performed the duties of their office privately, amid persecution and discouragement of every kind. In 1661, a deputation, of which Mr. Hall was a member, went up to Dublin, commissioned to present a petition to Parliament, complaining of the rigorous treatment which they received from the prelates, and asking for freedom to preach the Gospel; but, after long waiting, they were obliged to return without an opportunity of presenting it. Two years after, the odium excited against the Northern ministers, most unjustly, on account of their suspected complicity in Blood's plot, compelled him once more to cross over to Scotland; but when the true state of the case became known,

there was no danger attending his return. In 1664, he, in common with the other ministers, was restored to his people.

In 1668, the severity of the prelates began to relax a little, and the Presbyterians ventured on the bold step of erecting some places of Divine worship. The old meeting-house of Larne was built that year, or at least soon after. It stood upon the ground now occupied by the Unitarian house. "Its style of architecture," says the Rev. Classon Porter, "was very unpretending: its walls were very low: it had a thatched roof, and altogether presented, we are sure, a very humble appearance. The ground connected with it was very circumscribed, or rather it had no enclosed ground at all; for it stood without a boundary wall, and for a long time without even a ditch, in an open field, where the people on week-days were in the habit of cleaning their corn, and the youngsters of the town assembled to play shinny."

By 1672, matters were so far improved that the Church began to think of putting on record a history of its sufferings and acts, and Mr. Hall, along with the Rev. Patrick Adair, was recommended by the Meeting of Antrim "to use diligence about the history of the Church of Ireland." He seems, however, to have devolved his share of that duty on his neighbour. His brethren, it is evident, entertained a favourable opinion of his judgment and religious knowledge. They appointed him to revise Mr. Gowan's manuscript treatise against the Quakers; and in June, 1687, they invited him to give his thoughts in writing *De Potestate populi*, that is, upon the extent of the influence which should justly belong to the people in the appointment of ministers.

Up till the Revolution, the Presbytery of Ulster performed its official business through five sub-committees or meetings—Antrim, Down, Laggan, Route, and Tyrone, which were virtually presbyteries, though not so called. Immediately after the troubles, the Church took the opportunity of perfecting its organi-

zation. The general meeting of ministers and elders assumed the name of a Synod: the sub-divisions of the body were henceforth designated Presbyteries.

The first meeting of the Synod of Ulster was held in September, 1690, but unfortunately the minutes of the meeting have perished, and the name of the Moderator is unknown. At first it met every six months, and at the second meeting, held in April, 1691, Mr. Hall was appointed Moderator. At the third meeting of Synod, which was held at Antrim on the 30th September, 1691, it was his duty, as retiring Moderator, to open the proceedings with a sermon, and he preached from Song viii. 12: "My vineyard, which is mine, is before me." That meeting was attended by thirty-two ministers and twenty-one elders.

Mr. Hall's last days were spent in correcting for the press an explanation of the Shorter Catechism in the form of question and answer, of which Dr. Reid says that "it will not suffer by comparison with any similar work that has appeared either before or since." He never saw the work in print, for it did not issue from the press till 1697, that is, two years after the aged and venerable author had fallen asleep. His son, Gilbert Hall, lieutenant of the Town of Edinburgh's Company of Guards, had it printed and published; and Dr. Gilbert Rule, Principal of the University, joined with others in attaching his name to a recommendatory preface. The author of *Presbyterian Loyalty* speaks of Hall as "a man of profound learning, great abilities and piety, and long experience." The inscription on his tomb may be seen in Reid's *History* (see ch. xii., note 30). It was renewed in 1821, by the Unitarian congregation of Larne, then under the ministry of the Rev. J. C. Ledlie.*

* Adair's *Narrative*; MS. *Minutes of Synod of Ulster*; Reid's *History* and *Catalogue*; and *Sketch* by the Rev. Classon Porter of Larne, in the *Christian Unitarian*, vol. ii., Nos. 9 and 10, and in the *Larne Reporter* of August and September, 1873.

ORIGIN OF HIS CATECHISM.

To the PEOPLE of my charge, INHABITANTS in the Parish of ENVER, *alias* LARNE, in the Kingdom of Ireland.

BELoved IN CHRIST, you know that ever since my entry unto the work of the ministry among you, which was in the year 1646, save under persecution, when I was either obliged to leave the Kingdom, or lurk privily in the place, through the difficulty of the times, catechising was one part of my work; first, putting you to get by heart the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, and instructing you in the fundamental principles of the Christian faith, by questions raised from the answers of the Catechism; following the same method as is here set down both with you and in my own family. And when my children came to have families of their own, I was prevailed with by them to put it in writing for their after use and advantage. Then I came to be importuned by you and some of my brethren to allow it to be printed, which I could not think of until I had it revised by better hands than my own. Whereupon, finding some further clearness, I allowed my son, now residing at Edinburgh, to put it to the press, being the easiest way to make it common. And though now, by reason of my age, it cannot be expected that I shall see the fruits of it, yet it is a satisfaction to me that I leave this mean of instruction for you. Now I earnestly desire, that, as I have been at pains in writing, and both others and I in revising, that ye be careful so far as is possible to commit it to memory. There are some amongst you, who, by diligence, are tolerably able to answer many of these questions set down in this book, and though but few, yet they will be witnesses against all those who, by sloth or negligence, remain ignorant, and do not what they might or ought to do to have it by heart. It is true, all have not alike time, memory, nor skill, to commit things to memory; yet, if people did rightly improve what they have of these in following after spiritual knowledge, more of it would be attained to. Hosea vi. 3, "Then shall we know, if we follow on to know the Lord," etc. As may be evident from the words, Matt. xxv. 14—30, "that those who did trade with the Master's talents increased the same, and obtained a comfortable reward, while he who hid the talent received sad punishment. The concerns of this present life take up too much of our thoughts and time, many being rather like Martha, careful and troubled about many things, even to the neglect of the one thing needful, than like Mary, who choosed that good part which should not be taken away from her" (Luke x. 41, 42). I shall only recommend one thing more to you. In your studying knowledge, study the love of the truth. and to have your knowledge of a saving import, else all your labour will be lost; and seek to have the experimental and practical knowledge of the truths of effectual calling, of faith in Jesus Christ, and of repentance unto life, as you have them

opened up in this book. I will not now detain you longer from the book itself. You have in my Answers, Scripture citations at the close of that part of the Answer they are brought to prove, as the most easy way to go to them in your Bibles. I have not set down the Scripture proofs at large, of purpose that you who are so desirous of it may have it at an easy price. Every answer will read distinctly, passing the citations. That all may be useful, and prove a successful mean of your growth in the saving knowledge of the truth, shall be the desire of him who by reason of his charge is obliged to seek your good. I conclude with the words of Paul to the Ephesians, i. 17, and vi. 24, etc.—*Dedication of the Plain and Easy Explication.*

THE SIXTH QUESTION OF THE SHORTER CATECHISM.

Q. *What number of persons are there in the Godhead?* A. Three. 1 John v. 7.

Q. *What are the names of the three Persons in the Godhead?* A. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Matt. xxviii. 19.

Q. *Is the Father God?* A. Yes. Matt. xvi. 16; Gal. i. 1.

Q. *Is the Son God?* A. Yes. Heb. i. 8.

Q. *Is the Holy Ghost God?* A. Yes. Acts v. 3, 4.

Q. *Are not these three Gods?* A. No; they are three Persons (Heb. i. 3), and but one God. Deut. vi. 4.

Q. *How are they three Persons?* A. They are distinguished by their personal properties.

Q. *What are their personal properties?* A. It is proper to the Father to beget the Son, and to the Son to be begotten of the Father (Heb. i. 5, 6, 8; John i. 14, 18); and to the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father and the Son. John xv. 26; Gal. iv. 6.

Q. *How are they one God?* A. They are the same in substance.

Q. *What is the meaning of that, the same in substance?* A. They are not three Spirits, but one and the same Spirit.

Q. *Why are they named in this order; first the Father, then the Son, and then the Holy Ghost?* A. Not as if one of them were before another in order of time, for they are all co-eternal; neither as if one of them were before another in order of dignity or greatness, for they are all equal; but because of an order of existing and working which they have amongst themselves,—the Father existing and working from Himself, the Son existing and working from the Father, the Holy Ghost existing and working from the Father and the Son. John v. 19, and xvi. 14.

Q. *How doth it appear that the Son and the Holy Ghost are God equal with the Father?* A. By their having such names, attributes, works and worship ascribed to them in Scripture as are proper to God only. 1 John v. 20; Acts v. 3, 4; Isa. ix. 6;

Col. i. 16 ; Gen. i. 2 ; John v. 23 ; Matt. xxviii. 19 ; 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

Q. *If the Father and the Son be two distinct Persons, how says Christ, who is the Son, "I and my Father are one" ?* (John x. 30.)

A. When He said so, he spoke of Himself as essential, not as personally considered.

Q. *If the Son be equal with the Father, how says Christ, who is the Son, "My Father is greater than I" ?* (John xiv. 28.)

A. When He said so, He spoke of Himself considered, not as God, but as man and Mediator, and in the state of His humiliation.

Q. *Wherein is the Son and the Holy Ghost equal with the Father ?*

A. In power and glory.

Q. *Are they equal in nothing else but power and glory ?* A. Yes ; in wisdom, holiness, justice, goodness, truth, and all Divine perfections, as is necessarily implied when they are said to be equal in glory.—Hall's *Plain and Easy Explication*, pp. 13—15.

CHAPTER XII.

ROBERT CAMPBELL (1671—1722),

MINISTER AT RAY, CO. DONEGAL.

A Directory of Prayer for a gracious King, or a Practical Commentary on the 20th Psalm, giving an account of the dangers, duties, and deliverances of such. 18mo., pp. 166. London, 1696. A. C. B.

MR. ROBERT CAMPBELL was a native of Scotland, who became minister of Ray in the year 1671. The Presbyterians of Ireland were then very much depressed by penury and persecution, and ministers found it hard to live.

Early in 1681, he and other ministers in the Laggan were brought into trouble, in consequence of their agreeing to proclaim a fast in their congregations and issuing the following paper:—

Causes of Humiliation at a Publike Fast to be kept on February 17th, 1681.

- I. SINS. 1. The atheism and blasphemies openly avowed in many places of these nations, which are the cursed root of all the abominations and prophanness that overflowes it.
2. Horrid apostasy and perjury in slighting and breaking our solemn and personal engagements, covenants, and vows to the living God.
3. Our defection and backsliding from that faithfulness and zeal we formerly owned and professed for the blessed work of reformation.
4. Unparalleled profanity; particularly the crying sins of horrid swearing, sabbath-breaking, uncleanness, drunkenness, covetousness, and oppression.
5. Our stupidity under all the threatening of woe and desola-

tion imminent; and the lamentable security and unfruitfulness among the best, notwithstanding our plenty and purity of Gospel ordinances.

- II. JUDGMENTS. 1. The mystery of iniquity and hellish popery prevailing, and the readiness of many through their ignorance and indifferency in the matters of God to embrace it.
2. The great danger we are and have been in of a bloody massacre by the Antichristian party.
3. The dangerous and lamentable condition of the Protestants over all Europe, especially in Great Britain, France, and Ireland.
- III. PETITIONS. 1. We are humbly to beg that the Lord in His tender mercies would grant repentance and pardon to all ranks of people for all those abominations we stand guilty of.
2. That the Lord would oppose and stop the inundation of popery, idolatry, and superstition that overflows these lands.
3. That He would revive the work of reformation and the hearts of His people.
4. That He would preserve the King's person and his people from the bloody counsels, plots, and conspiracies of Papists.
5. That He would continue pure Gospel ordinances amongst us, and bless them with much fruitfulness.

When this paper was read in their congregations, four ministers, of whom Mr. Campbell was one, were summoned before the magistrates at Raphoe, and afterwards on the report of the magistrates before the Lord-Lieutenant and Privy Council at Dublin. After a minute examination they were dismissed on bail, to take their trial at Lifford at the ensuing assizes for daring to keep a fast. They were found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of twenty pounds apiece, and to give a written engagement that they would not commit a similar offence again. This they refused to do, and were in consequence imprisoned at Lifford for eight months, till they were released (20th April, 1682) by the sheriff, on condition of their paying a mitigated fine. Craghead of Donaghmore (see ch. x.), Hart of Taughboyne, and Trail of Lifford, shared with Campbell in his honourable captivity. Their confinement was not rigorous; for while it lasted, they preached in turn

every Sabbath, and sometimes, with the connivance of their keepers, slipped out on parole to hold religious services in the surrounding country during the winter nights. Craghead in his *Answer to the Bishop's Second Admonition* * tells how they, "with great danger to their keepers (who were convinced of their innocence), and with great danger to themselves, did travel some miles in the night to preach and partake of the Lord's Supper. This I was witness unto, being called to preach at several of these communions in the night season." The place of imprisonment was a house in Lifford appointed for the purpose; and, during their stay there, their friends outside often sent the persecuted ministers money and supplies.

The confusion produced by the civil war in Ulster in 1689, dissolved the connexion between many ministers and congregations, and Mr. Campbell, as well as others, was compelled to return to his native land. So late as the 18th of March, 1691, he was yet in Scotland, though his wife was then at Ray. He must himself have arrived soon afterwards, for in the Presbytery book he is marked as absent on the 21st of April, and present on the 21st of May in that year.

On the 21st December, 1692, the congregation of Donaghmore, by their commissioners, attended the Meeting of Laggan, and presented a call to their neighbour, the Minister of Ray. The Ray congregation having been notified of this, in due course appeared at another meeting held at St. Johnstown on the 8th of February, 1693, on which occasion the following minute was recorded:—

"Appears from Ray, Captain Jo : Thomson, Jo : King, etc., Commissionat, to answer the reasons given in by Donoghmore for transporting of Mr. Rob : Campbell from Ray to Donoghmore; Appears also from Donoghmore, Will : Ewing and Jo : Allat, Commissionate, to prosecute their call to Mr. Campbell, and to desire a determination of that matter. The meeting haveing taken the case of this transportation into ther serious consideration, and having considered the answers by Ray to the

* See page 31.

reasons of Donoghmore, do find these reasons fully answered by Ray, have voted and concluded that Mr. Campbell abide in Ray, and be not transported to Donoghmore."

In accordance with this resolution, Mr. Campbell continued at Ray. In 1694 the Synod of Ulster met at Antrim on the 5th of June, on which occasion he filled the office of Moderator. Owing to the circumstance that the minutes of Synod for the years 1695 and 1696 are not extant, we do not know the texts on which the Moderators of those years addressed the brethren.

On the 2nd of July, 1695, the Presbytery of Laggan gave him a very signal mark of their confidence. For want of a legal toleration, it must be remembered, the ministers were still subject to many hardships; and the king, owing to his frequent absences on the Continent and the pressure of public business, was not always able to protect them from their enemies as well as he was inclined to do. It was in these circumstances judged convenient to send a commissioner after the king to Flanders, to entreat him "for our legal liberty, and for allowance to supplicate the Government here for redress of our particular grievances;" and the Presbytery thought that the commissioner to act in this matter on behalf of the Church should be either Mr. Campbell of Ray, Mr. William Adair of Ballycaston, or Mr. McBride of Belfast. Whether any commissioner went on this errand is not now known; but if so, it is probable that Campbell was not the man, as we find him attending the two following meetings of Presbytery held respectively on the 30th of July and 22nd of August. That he was named by those who knew him best as one of three ministers, each of whom was judged to be eminently qualified for such a mission, shows the high standing that he possessed among his brethren.

Mr. Campbell's little volume, entitled *A Directory of Prayer for a Gracious King*, was published early in the following year. It is introduced with a preface,

dated "From my sick bed, October 13th, 1695, and signed with the initials, 'N. Bl.,' which is understood to mean Nicholas Blakey, one of the Dissenting Ministers of London, predecessor of the Rev. Robert Fleming, author of *The Discourse on the Rise and Fall of the Papacy*, in the charge of the Presbyterian Congregation at London Wall, Coleman Street. In this preface, the writer says of Mr. Campbell—

"If thou wouldst know the Author, and if my testimony be of any credit with thee, I may confidently say, that I knew him a man in Christ nigh forty years ago, whose public administrations were bedewed with tears of joy and sorrow, as occasion called for ; so filled with goodness, as made him ready to communicate ; so humble, that he looked on himself and work not worthy to come abroad in such a critical age, yet thinks his mite may do good to some by reason of its plainness. He does not make plain things obscure, nor hide plain truths in a wood of words, but sets the truths in a plain dress, as they grow in the ground, and there shine. His explications are 'short, yet plain and full, close and home,' both with reference to the dangers, duties, and deliverances. His arguments are common, such as the authority of God, the glory of God, our own interest and concern : if these be despised, thou art either no real Christian, or a diseased one."

The *Directory* contains nine sermons. Eight of these are on Psalm xx., each verse of which is taken up in its order ; and the ninth, on Psalm cxxxii. 1, was preached upon the 13th January, 1695, on the occasion of the death of Queen Mary, wife of William III. The six sermons which stand first in the volume were preached on occasion of a day of fasting and prayer, which was observed at Ray monthly, while the king was engaged in his continental wars with Lewis XIV. ; the seventh is a thanksgiving sermon for the king's safe return ; and the eighth, preached 24th of July, 1694, commemorates the king's safety and success. As the name indicates, the king is the theme throughout. The preacher dwells on the great deliverance which Providence through him wrought out for the nation, the excellence of his personal character, the dangers to which he was exposed, and the duty of Christians

to pray earnestly on his behalf. This theme runs through all the sermons successively, and the reiteration of the one thought under a variety of forms must have impressed the hearer as it does the reader.

On the 23rd of December, 1719, Mr. Campbell had an assistant and successor ordained in his congregation. He himself survived a few years after, and died on the 5th of October, 1722.*

SERVICES OF KING WILLIAM III.

This serves to stir us up on such a day to plead with God for this to our King and Queen : that however the Lord may have just cause, both for their sin and ours, not to regard them or their duties, and what they have done for His glory, that the Lord may pass by their failings, and may accept of their persons and duties in this time of danger, and may so remember them and accept them, as that He may make it evident by such evidences of His favour as may convince His and our enemies of it, and may rejoice the hearts of His people to love and fear Him ; such as his undertaking our deliverance, and as it were sacrificing his life, and all that was dearest to him in the world, against such as were bringing in Popery and slavery upon us and our posterity, and in venturing his person and crown to deliver this land, and his people therein, when our enemies had all the land under their feet : his restoring to his people in Scotland their liberties, after great oppression and sad suffering, and breaking the yoke of Prelacy there, and setting up a godly ministry, and the government of his house, when in a manner buried that men never thought to see it restored again ; yea, for his godly and christian zeal to uphold a ministry in this land, by granting them such a help † out of his revenue, when he had so much to do with it, and both King and Queen's continuing of it, notwithstanding of all the endeavours of enemies, and his vast expense in his wars. And should we not then plead with God, that the Lord may remember all his offerings, and accept of his burnt sacrifices ! And if the people of God prayed for those kings of Persia, that set forward His worship, though they remained Pagans themselves ; and if for this very cause God blessed Cyrus, and made his way prosperous (Isaiah xlv. 1—7), I say much more is it our duty, and ought we to be

* MS. *Minutes of Laggan* ; Reid's *History*, ch. xviii., Note 51 and App. xi., also MS. *Catalogue* ; Wilson's *Dissenting Churches*, vol. ii., p. 467.

† He refers here to the grant of Regium Donum.

encouraged, to deal with God on such a day, to remember and accept all that service they have done to Him and good to His people, and who have done it from a principle of grace and zeal to His glory and love to His people, relying on God's mercy and goodness for hearing of us, and granting what we seek for them for Christ's sake. O my brethren! be not guilty in neglecting this duty when God and man call you to it, when ye have such encouragement to do it, and are in so great danger, if for your own and the land's sins, the Lord should deny what ye are here taught to ask. The Lord help us to mind it as we ought, and all His people throughout these lands.—*Sermon iii.*, pp. 44—46.

WHY WE OUGHT TO PRAY FOR KINGS.

Why we ought to pray for kings and rulers, especially godly ones:—1. Because it is God's express command, as ye have heard, and so it is duty. 2. Because of the obligation we are under to them, as they are our superiors, and we their subjects; and therefore we are in duty obliged to it, it being a part of that duty which we owe to them. 3. Because they have greatest need in regard of their great temptations and dangers. 4. Because of the great consequences that depend upon their safety and actings, whether of good or evil, to their subjects; for they being eminent and public persons, the good or evil of many depends upon their good or evil. 5. Because godly princes are a blessing to the Church of God, and therefore we ought the rather to pray for them, that they may be preserved and continued to be nursing fathers and nursing mothers to His Church (Isaiah xlix. 23). 6. Because such are very rare among men, and seldom granted, most princes being either careless of the Church, or enemies to sincere professors. 7. Because prayer is the way to obtain good things from God to them, who is the Hearer of prayer, and is intreated by the fervent and humble prayers of His people, to grant those mercies which they petition for them (James v. 16). And, lastly, because thus the meanest subjects, if truly godly, who cannot otherwise be useful to their princes, may be instruments to procure them many blessings, especially in their straits and dangers, when they have most need of God's help.—*Sermon ix.*, pp. 148-9.

CHAPTER XIII.

JOHN McBRIDE (1678—1718),

MINISTER AT CLARE (CO. ARMAGH) AND AT BELFAST.

1. *Animadversions on the Defence of the Answer to a paper intituled The Case of the Dissenting Protestants of Ireland in reference to a Bill of Indulgence*, from the exceptions made against it; together with an Answer to a *Peaceable and Friendly Address to Nonconformists*, written upon their desiring an Act of Toleration without the Sacramental Test. 4to., pp. 118. [*Belfast*,] 1697. T. W.
2. *A Sermon* before the Provincial Synod of Antrim, preached June 1st, 1698. [Acts xv. 25, 26.] 4to., pp. 20. [*Belfast*,] 1698. A. C. P.
3. *A Vindication of Marriage* as solemnized by Presbyterians in the North of Ireland: wherein (1) their principles, practices, and reasons thereof are candidly shown, with the causes of their nonconformity to the form prescribed in the Liturgy; (2) The libels exhibited against ministers and people in the official Courts, examined and answered; (3) And such marriages proven to be agreeable to Scripture, light of nature, laws of nations, and customs of other Reformed Churches, and not inconsistent with the civil laws of this land; and therefore lawful, though not canonical. By a Minister of the Gospel. 4to., pp. 71. [*Belfast*,] 1702. M. C. D.
4. *A Sample of Jet-black Pr—tic Calumny*, in answer to a Pamphlet called *A Sample of True-blue Presbyterian Loyalty*; or the Christian Loyalty of Presbyterians in Britain and Ireland, in all changes of Government since the Reformation asserted; more particularly of the Presbyterians in Ulster since their first plantation there, when King James I. came to possess the Crown of England; and a true discovery of the real authors and causes of the civil wars, insurrections, and rebellions in these nations since. To which is added an Apology for the declaration of the

Presbytery of Bangor, July 7th, 1649. 4to., pp. 218.
Glasgow, 1713. M. C. D.

The author of the above writings was by birth a Scotsman. In the year 1666 he entered the University of Glasgow as a student, and between 1670 and 1678 he was ordained by the Meeting of Tyrone to the charge of the congregation of Clare in the county Armagh. On the death of the historian Patrick Adair (see ch. iv.), he succeeded him as Minister of the Congregation of Belfast, where he was installed on the 3rd of October, 1694. The edifice, in which the only Presbyterian Congregation then in the town worshipped, stood at the head of North Street, near the North Gate; but owing to the influence of Mr. McBride with the noble family of Donegal, a new site was obtained in Rosemary Street, on which the churches of the First and Second Congregations (now Unitarian) are standing at the present time. The structure which was erected during McBride's ministry on the new site, was replaced by the present building in 1783.

Soon after his induction in Belfast, we find him attending at Dublin on the business of the Church, seeking for himself and his brethren a legal toleration from the Irish Parliament. In the *Hamilton Manuscripts*, page 152, there is a letter from him, dated "Dublin, September 7th, 1695," and addressed to William Hamilton, Esq., of Killileagh, in which he says, "We very much need your assistance, for our affair is like to miscarry for want of true friends," and adds, "I fear we shall be drowned with Court holy water, as our Act is not like to pass unless the Sacramental test come along with it, and that is but to put us out of the frying-pan into the fire." He did not miscalculate. Notwithstanding that Lord Capel the Lord Lieutenant was on their side, the proposal of an Act of toleration for Presbyterians was defeated first in the Irish Privy Council, and subsequently in both Houses of Parliament.

The avowed and inveterate enemies which the Presbyterians had to encounter in and out of Parliament, were the prelates of the Episcopal Church, then, and for nearly two centuries after, established by law. When the case came up before the Irish House of Lords, of forty-three peers who were present, twenty-one were bishops—a fact which of itself is enough to show how impossible it was to obtain from a tribunal so constituted justice for Dissenters. The constant argument, used by them and their friends, against the Presbyterians seeking simply a legal toleration for their worship, was, that “as there was no test in Ireland, it was necessary for the security of the Established Church to exclude from offices, or any share in the Government, all those who would not conform to the Church established by law.” Every attempt to gain a legal recognition for their religion, even though their wish was favoured by the king and by the English Government, was met by the Prelates, whose power at the time in the Irish legislature was paramount, with unrelenting opposition. Their aim was to defeat in every instance the attempt to gain the indulgence sought, or, failing in this, then to hamper the relief that could no longer be refused, with a sacramental test, or some other odious accompaniment, the effect of which they hoped would be the utter extinction of Dissent. The Presbyterians at that time felt keenly the hardships of their position under the Revolution Government, for which so many of them had fought and bled, and did everything in their power to convince the nation of the justice of their cause. Unfortunately for them, powerful ecclesiastical opponents stood in the way, who fancied it was their interest not to be convinced.

It was in connexion with this matter, that Mr. McBride first appeared as an author. In 1695, Mr. Boyse of Dublin (see ch. ix.) published a folio tract of three pages in favour of the Presbyterian claims, entitled *The Case of the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland in reference to a Bill of Indulgence repre-*

sented and argued. This tractate was answered by Dr. Tobias Pullen, bishop of Dromore (1695—1713), in another folio of six pages, which he designated *An Answer to a Paper entitled "The Case of the Protestant Dissenters,"* etc. When Boyse had his reply to this brochure ready, but before it was published, Anthony Dopping, bishop of Meath (1681—1697), issued another folio of six pages against the Presbyterians, which he entitled *The Case of the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland considered in reference to the Sacramental Test.* To this brace of bishops, Boyse then replied in a single pamphlet, issued under the name, *The Case of the Dissenting Protestants in reference to a Bill of Indulgence vindicated,* etc. (see ch. ix., No. 7). Bishop Pullen rejoined in a tract with the title, *A Defence of the Answer to a Paper intituled "The Case of the Dissenting Protestants,"* etc.

At this point Boyse dropped the discussion; but McBride now stepped in, and in 1697 first appeared as an author by the publication of his *Animadversions* on Pullen's recent pamphlet. At the end of this work he replied to Dr. Edward Synge, who, in a tract which he called *A Peaceable and Friendly Address to the Nonconformists*, had opposed the grant of any legal toleration to the Presbyterians, except on condition of excluding them from all "places of trust and power and profit in the commonwealth." This worthy Episcopal writer was answered by Mr. McBride in a separate portion of his publication. To this *Answer*, Synge, then a clergyman in Dublin, but afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, replied in a work entitled *A Defence of the Peaceable and Friendly Address to the Nonconformists.* This closed the controversy.

It was scarcely safe in those days for a printer to affix his name and residence to a work published in defence of the Presbyterians. The place where it was printed is not stated on the title page of the *Animadversions*; but Dr. Reid is of opinion that it was Belfast, where two printers from Glasgow had set up a press in 1696. The method of discussion in the

work itself is far from satisfactory. The author takes up sentence after sentence in the order which his antagonist presented them; and the result is, that he leaves anything except a clear impression of the strength of his case on the mind of his readers. His argument is entirely vitiated by the fact that he repudiates the idea of seeking toleration for any except Presbyterians, and evidently implies that there are others outside of the Established Church, to whom it ought not to be granted. Owing to this flaw in his logic and the disorderly arrangement of his topics, notwithstanding that he makes some good points, he fails in exhibiting the strength of his cause, and his pamphlet is by no means smart or convincing.

The year of the publication of his first literary production was signalized by the election of Mr. McBride to the Moderator's chair. It became his duty, in consequence, to open the following Synod with a sermon. He selected for his subject most appropriately the Apostolic Synod at Jerusalem in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts. The discourse was an able and satisfactory analysis of the passage, viewed as supplying a precedent for the action of ecclesiastical rulers in settling church matters; and in the course of it he enforced the doctrine that "when the necessity or benefit of the Church requires it, it is the duty of those whom Christ hath clothed with authority to rule it, to assemble with one accord, and to make such acts as may contribute to preserve the purity and peace of those churches over which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers." After the discourse was delivered, some friends got possession of the manuscript, and had it sent to the press without his sanction. It is the first printed synodical sermon of any of our Moderators. When it was published, Dr. Edward Walkington, bishop of Down and Connor (1695-99), obtained a copy, and forwarded it to the Lords Justices at Dublin, in proof of the presumptuousness and audacity of the Dissenters. The parts most objectionable in the opinion of the prelates were that Mr.

McBride is styled "Minister of Belfast" on the title-page, and that in the body of the sermon he states "That the want of a call, or commission to assemble, from the secular power (we being permitted to meet) doth not make our meeting unlawful before God, as some may fancy, nor doth the want of a civil sanction to our acts make them void." Forthwith the ex-moderator was summoned to Dublin, to answer for his audacity in publishing such a sermon. Fortunately for him the Lords Justices heard the case themselves. No less than six of the bishops, including the accuser, were present at the inquiry. Dr. Reid from a contemporary letter gives the particulars which occurred:—

"Mr. McBride was demanded if the sermon was preached by him, the Chancellor showing it to him. He owned it was. He was asked, whether it was printed by his order. To which he answered, No. He was accused for the title page, its calling him 'Minister of Belfast,' and their meeting a Provincial Synod. He replied that the title page was not his, but theirs who printed the sermon. Then as to the matter of the petition, being questioned as to the school at Killileagh, and that divinity was taught in it, he told them no divinity was taught there. And as to the philosophy school there, it was no more than what was done in the reign of Charles the Second, in whose time there were two such schools; and he added that Mr. McAlpine had a licence for his school. The Bishop of Down and Connor asked from whom? He replied from Mr. McNeil, Chancellor to the diocese. Mr. McBride was dismissed with an advice to him and his brethren to carry rectably towards the Established Church, and to them [the bishops in Ulster] to carry moderately." *

It must have been somewhat mortifying to these zealous bishops, that through the tolerant and enlightened spirit of the Lords Justices, their victim escaped from their consecrated hands. More than twenty years after, so late as 1719, Archbishop King, who hated the Presbyterians with the renegade bitterness of a man who had himself deserted his party, complained to the sympathetic ear of the Archbishop of Canterbury of the unparalleled audacity of Dis-

* *History*, ch. xxi., p. 479.

senters. "Under colour of an indulgence," says he, "they hold their Presbyteries and Synods, *openly preach sermons at them, and print them!*" And he instances McBride's sermon as an illustration of this extreme and provoking hardihood.* A bigoted and fanatical prelate finds it as hard as a Dominican to learn the simple lesson of tolerating those, who do not think as he thinks. These proceedings lend a more than ordinary interest to the first Moderator's sermon which was ever printed and published in Ireland.

All this period the ministers were subjected to great annoyance for celebrating marriages among their people. The right to perform such marriages they always claimed and exercised; but the Bishops were constantly interposing to deprive them of this right, to compel the parties thus married to confess themselves guilty of fornication, and to have their children declared illegitimate. Appeals for relief were made to Parliament, but the appellants found to their grief that with Dublin Parliaments the prelates were all-powerful, that relief seldom came, and that when it came it was long deferred. While the Church was under legal disabilities in this respect, Mr. McBride wrote his *Vindication*, in which, with no small learning and force, he defends Presbyterian principles and practice in regard to marriage. In this work he shows that marriage is a holy ordinance appointed by God; that, considering the importance of the contract which it involves, it is highly expedient for a minister of the Word to be present at the celebration of it; that to conform to the order of matrimony as laid down in the Book of Common Prayer is not in accordance with the conscience of an enlightened Presbyterian; that the rite as celebrated among Presbyterians is agreeable to the Word of God, to the laws of nature and of nations, and to the custom of the Reformed Churches, and that it is not inconsistent with the law of the land; and that it is unjust and uncharitable to prosecute ministers for performing such

* Mant's *History of the Episcopal Church*, vol. ii., p. 33.

marriages, or to compel persons thus married, on pain of excommunication, either to pay a heavy money fine to Church officials, or to confess themselves guilty of the sin of fornication. The work is a very full and able examination of the whole subject, and an exposure of the cruel treatment to which Presbyterians were then exposed for exercising rights which are now the common heritage of all Christian sects. Not being engaged in formally replying to the statements of another, he is free to bring forward his material in his own way; the result is that the arrangement is clear, and the discussion is conducted with good temper and moderation.

But the claims thus put forward by the Presbyterian ministers to marry their own people, were very offensive to the Episcopal clergy. The work of McBride called forth in reply an anonymous pamphlet from Dr. Ralph Lambert, who rose afterwards to be Bishop of Dromore, and subsequently of Meath (1726-32); and which was published in 1704, under the name *An Answer to a late Pamphlet entitled "A Vindication," etc.* In this work, with a spirit that qualified the writer for becoming one of the prelates of that age, the writer maintained that Presbyterian ministers ought to be deprived of all power to celebrate marriages. In answer to a statement of McBride, dropped incidentally, that "the Presbyterians possessed the North of Ireland," meaning of course that they occupied or were located in that part of the island, he affects to misunderstand the meaning, in order that he may have opportunity to remark that "their whole possessions will not amount to one-fortieth part of it, which if he denies, he may be convinced by having a particular list of all the *estated noblemen and gentlemen in Ulster.*" Of course the inference left to be drawn was, that the Presbyterians, being to a very small extent "noblemen and gentlemen," their religious and social grievances were beneath the consideration of Parliament. Proud priests in those days could scarcely hide their scorn and contempt for the people. McBride's former antagonist, Mr. Synge,

then chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, also replied in a work published in 1705, designated *A Defence of the Established Church and Laws*. Dr. Reid states that this answer is at once more respectful and effective than that of Lambert. It occupies a small duodecimo volume of 336 pages.

It was most probably McBride's personal troubles, which prevented him from taking any notice of these replies to his *Vindication*. These trials came upon him in the most unexpected way. In 1703, when King William was dead, and a monarch of their favourite type had succeeded him, the High-Church Tories had an Act of Parliament passed, which required all persons in ecclesiastical and civil offices, and "all preachers and teachers of separate congregations," to take the Abjuration Oath, by which it was declared that the Pretender, that is, the son of the late James II., had no right or title to the crown. All Presbyterian Ministers who had charge of congregations in Ireland took this oath, with the exception of four, and of these four McBride was one. These ministers, in common with all their brethren, were as much attached to the principles of the late Revolution and to the Protestant Succession as it was possible to be; but the form of the oath was so worded, that, as they conceived, they were bound by it not only to defend the Episcopal Establishment, but to swear that the Pretender was not the son of his reputed father—a matter with the true state of which they did not profess to be acquainted. For these reasons they scrupled to take the oath, and in consequence they are known in our history as the Presbyterian non-jurors. Considering that they quite agreed in the main object of the oath, and that they had so many enemies waiting for an opportunity to misrepresent and ruin them, it would have been better that these men had concurred with the majority, and not permitted the tenderness of their consciences to take exception to the mere wording of the oath. But this crotchet of theirs was, as crotchets so often are, very unfortunate for their owners. Not only did it

lead to misunderstandings with their brethren, but gave opportunity to their enemies to represent them as disaffected to Government, and to the High-Church party to persecute them under form of law. An informer went to an Episcopal clergyman, who acted as a magistrate, and swore informations against McBride. Dr. Kirkpatrick preserves a letter of Colonel Upton, M.P. for County Antrim, in which he says from his own knowledge that Lord Donegal offered to be bound for McBride to the value of his estate.* But that was not exactly what was required. The one minister of Christ forthwith issued a warrant for the apprehension of the other. Having received timely notice of what he might expect, the non-juror escaped and fled to Scotland. Mr. Clugston, the chief magistrate, or as he was then called, sovereign of Belfast, went to the minister's house in hope of being able to arrest him; but when he searched the house and found that his victim had escaped, his passion overpowered him, and he ran his sword through a picture of the minister which hung upon the wall. In 1836, this picture was in the possession of the late Rev. Dr. Bruce, of Belfast, still retaining the gash left by the magistrate's sword in the bands at the neck, and illustrating in that significant form the sectarian rancour of the time.

Mr. McBride remained for three years in Glasgow, and during that time was occupied in supplying one of the city churches. By 1708 the Episcopal authorities of Belfast had quieted down, so much so that the Synod sent for him to return: Mr. Samuel Smith, merchant, crossed the Channel to invite him back; and in compliance with the call he left Glasgow, and was present at the meeting of the Synod of Ulster, which was held in Derry, in 1709.

In 1713, he appeared for the last time as an author. Dr. Tisdal, vicar of Belfast, had for some time been engaged in publishing tracts, light, polished, and provoking, against his Presbyterian parishioners, the

* *Presbyterian Loyalty*, p. 474.

design of which seems to have been to give utterance to his personal venom against Dissenters, and to excite in the authorities a settled conviction of their disloyalty. One of these malicious productions, with the ironical title, *A Sample of True-blue Presbyterian Loyalty*, was honoured with two elaborate replies, one by Kirkpatrick, the other by McBride. Both were published anonymously. The name of McBride's work is an allusion to the title of that to which it is intended to be an answer—*A Sample of Jet-black Prelatic Tyranny*. It was printed at Glasgow. The fact of its going forth from the press without a name, has no doubt flung a shadow of uncertainty around the authorship. But there is no reasonable doubt now that *Jet-black* is the work of McBride.* The judgment that Dr. Reid pronounces on the work is as usual accurate and judicious. He says that it "is filled with tedious quotations from well-known and accessible books, and even these are given confusedly, without regard to chronological order. Although therefore it contains many judicious refutations of Tisdal's calumnies and accusations, it must undoubtedly have proved a very inefficient defence against that keen-spirited, well-written, and well-digested attack." The *Synodical Sermon* and the *Vindication* seem to me superior in style and in interest to the *Animadversions* and to *Jet-black*. In the former works he was free to take his own course and to select his own material; but in the latter he thought himself bound to follow close upon the track of the enemy, and found himself occasionally led into thickets and defiles with which he was not familiar. In all his publications there is not a particle of humour. Tradition represents him as fond of a jest, but there is no trace of it in his writings. He has not learned the art of using humour as a weapon of defence and attack. Except at direct thrust and parry in the most inartistic fashion, he can do little in a controversial skirmish.

In 1699, the patent issued by Government for the

* Wodrow's Letter to Rev. John McBride. *Correspondence*, vol. i. No. 128.

payment of *Regium Donum*, then regarded as a very precious document, was entrusted to the care of Mr. McBride—a mark of confidence on the part of his brethren. This patent—a mere relic for a museum—is still in existence.*

That propensity to jesting, which is said to have characterized the man, though it never appears in his writings, on one occasion operated to his disadvantage. Even a jest has within it an element of seriousness; and before venturing on it a man should know *when*, *where*, and *with whom*. An Episcopal minister, it appears, had been expostulating with him on his purpose of refusing to take the Abjuration Oath; whereupon McBride, probably to get rid of the man's obtrusiveness without giving personal offence, told him a story about "a bairn that once upon a time could not be persuaded to ban the Devil, because he did not know but he might soon come into his clutches." Foolish talking of this sort was of course neither convenient nor seasonable. The silly anecdote received a serious interpretation, and it was understood to mean that he would not take the oath against the Pretender, lest the Pretender might come to the throne some day, and he find himself in his power. Such an event was as unlikely as the selfish consideration of it was beneath McBride; but it is not the first time that by a thoughtless word, intended to carry in it no serious meaning, a man has brought trouble on himself.

Another anecdote told of him is more of an amusing kind. The sovereign of Belfast once came to hear him preach, and occupied a conspicuous position in the front of the gallery. For aught we know, he may have been the same formidable civic dignitary who, either before or afterwards, ran his sword so valiantly through the preacher's portrait, but of this we cannot be sure. During the course of the service, his Worship had occasion to pull out his pocket-handkerchief, and, forgetting that stowed away in the same pocket was the deck of cards with which probably he had been enter-

* *R. D. and Compensation*, by Rev. John Canning of Malin, p. 13.

taining his guests till a late hour on the Saturday evening, he drew out the handkerchief and the cards together, and the painted pasteboards fell like a shower from the gallery on the heads of the worshippers who occupied the floor. The misadventure did not escape the quick eye of McBride in the pulpit, who stopped in his address, surveyed the dignitary, and, pretending that he did not know exactly what had occurred, exclaimed in the rich Doric that he had brought with him from his native land—"Heh, sir, but your Psalm-book is badly bound!" The time, place, and circumstances were all unseasonable, but the man could not resist the impulse of displaying his wit and inflicting a stinging rebuke.

Before leaving this venerable minister, we may add that his last years seem to have passed without disturbance. After returning from his exile, he wrote to Wodrow on the 4th August, 1713, in regard to himself and another non-juror, "We are resolved not to leave the country; but if they take us, he and I think it fitter to go to prison; and then we should know whether those who profess to be our friends can or will be as good as their word." The historian, however, had very little romance in his nature; for he wrote in reply, "I cannot, without concern, think of your venturing on a prison in your old age, upon the credit of such as call themselves your friends. I don't like such experiments of friendship at all, and had rather hear the laverock sing as the mouse chirp." It is comforting to know, however, that the good man had afterwards no occasion to subject his friends to such a crucial test of their regard, and that, on to the last, the prison walls did not prevent him from hearing the laverock sing. His troubles were of another kind entirely, in his closing years. On the 13th January, 1714, he wrote to Wodrow—"That lordly prelate, gout, hath kept me his prisoner in Cripplegate since the 16th of December, nor am I yet free from his jurisdiction."

Mr. McBride died on the 21st of July, 1718. His son Robert became minister of Ballymoney, a fact

which will afford us the opportunity of returning to this old Presbyterian family again. *

THE USE OF SYNODS.

Some indeed despise these assemblies, as being, in their opinion, a yoke ; but we have cause to bless God for this yoke, which ties us together, binds us to our work, and strengthens us in the performance thereof ; for by our meetings God hath been pleased to preserve us in as great unanimity of judgment, unity of affection, uniformity in all our ministerial actings, as any such number of such men we know in the like circumstances with ourselves. By these we have been helped to mind the same thing, and walk by the same rule ; and by our united care and counsels, in our darkest times and greatest dangers, have been enabled both to avoid giving just ground of offence, and have thereby defended ourselves. Our own and the public peace has been considerably secured by these means, when it hath fared otherwise in other places. And experience daily tells us that the Church shall never be comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners, while every small company with their several captains have sole jurisdiction, and no common councils kept for war or peace, no subordination or authority for exercise of discipline, redress of grievances, or establishing of order. Had some of our brethren what we enjoy by these, they would soon be more terrible to their enemies, more comfortable to their friends, more peace should be in their palaces, and prosperity within their private walls.

This also may convince us that Christ never appointed His Church to be governed by sole jurisdiction of single persons ; for, even in case of a private offence, He commands to tell the church, not any single person, however dignified. The promise of His presence is made at least to two or three gathered in His name (Matt. xviii. 20). As the Apostles, with the knowledge and consent of the church, chose and ordained an apostle (Acts i.), so they would not exercise sole jurisdiction, even in the ordination of deacons (Acts vi. 3, 6). The Apostles jointly sent Peter and John to Samaria (Acts viii. 14). The Apostles and brethren in Judea called Peter to account in respect of his carriage to the Gentiles (Acts xi. 1, 2, 18). It was the church, and not any one churchman, that sent Barnabas so far as Antioch (Acts xi. 22). Yea, the very matters of charity were

* McBride's *Works*; *Presbyterian Loyalty*; Reid's *History* and *MS. Catalogue* ; *Bible Christian* for 1836, p. 112 ; Wodrow's *Correspondence*, vol. i., Letters 147, 148, and 165.

managed by common consent ; for the disciples in Antioch sent Barnabas and Paul to the elders at Jerusalem, so that there was not so much as sole jurisdiction in the distribution of the church's charity (Acts xi. 29, 30). Paul and Barnabas are sent by the ministers of the church of Antioch assembled (Acts xiii.). And here it is more evident than to be denied ; so that I would gladly know any constituted church within all the New Testament or the Old, where church jurisdiction was exercised by any single person.—*Synodical Sermon.*

LOYALTY OF PRESBYTERIANS UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH.

1. Immediately after the murder of his late Majesty (Charles I.), we published, in February following, a declaration against the actors of it, as traitors and murderers, exhorting all the people of our charges to stand stedfast in their loyalty to His Majesty, and not to own such usurpers. Our Declaration we publicly read in all our pulpits, and is yet extant ; and a pretended confutation of it in print, extant with it, which is filled with threatenings and reproaches against us.

2. When the usurpers came to Ireland, and sent down Colonel Venables to this country, we ceased not to testify against their usurpations, and to pray daily in public for the restoration of his present Majesty to his throne. For which cause, when many threatenings were used by inferior officers and soldiers, which were in great numbers quartered in every parish, Colonel Venables at length sent several parties to all our houses to take us prisoners. By them many were apprehended, and kept close prisoners for several months, and were in the meantime tempted with fair offers to take engagements against kingly government ; yea, had liberty offered them, and other encouragements, if they would but promise not to act anything against them in the king's behalf ; yet they, stedfastly persisting in their loyalty, were at length banished the kingdom for several years.

3. The rest that escaped imprisonment were forced to leave their houses, and walk disguised, preaching in the fields and hills, when they durst not come to their houses for two or three years together ; choosing so sad a life rather than renounce their loyalty.

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5. The Act of Banishment, passed at a Council of War in Carrickfergus, March, 1651, (as we believe, still upon record,) doth testify for our loyalty, reckoning up to us for a chief cause of our banishment, that we kept still alive the interest of the king among the people, reproaching them in power as treacherous to his Majesty, and breakers of covenant.

6. Thereafter, in the year 1652, and in the year 1653, the ministers who were secretly lurking in the country were severally charged to appear, first, before the Commissioners of Revenue, and then before the Commissioners for Transplantation,

before whom they did several times, though with hazard, present themselves, and there publicly did profess and maintain their obligations to His Majesty's Government, making that still one reason to refuse to engage to the usurpers. Yea, it is to be observed, that at all the public debates His Majesty's interest was one point agitated and sustained by them.

7. Among other times of their appearance before the usurpers, there was one time most remarkable, when both the ministers and all the people of their parishes did publicly together at Carrickfergus refuse the engagement against kingly government, albeit they knew that a sentence of transportation was to be passed against them for their refusal, which, accordingly, at the same time was done, albeit, by God's good providence, it was prevented afterwards.

8. After the Anabaptists began to prevail, and some dissension arose among the usurpers themselves; the chief commander at that time in this province, being opposite to the Anabaptists, began to remit some of his rigour against us, conniving at our return to the kingdom, thinking thereby both to gain us and strengthen his own hands against the Anabaptists, knowing us to be opposite to them, not only in matters of religion, but also in the matter of a fixed civil government. Notwithstanding, we were no further gained than to a peaceable living under them. Yet, when they had received a new form of monarchy, in the person of Oliver Cromwell, and generally all the three kingdoms made congratulatory addresses to him, professing their gladness and acquiescence in his government, yet we could never be persuaded to make our addresses, though we were earnestly pressed by several emissaries of the usurpers, who can yet testify it if they will.

9. Upon the same account of our duty to His Majesty, we would never pray for the usurpers, nor read the causes of fasts and thanksgivings, nor observe their days of humiliation, out of conscience that we could not own them as lawful magistrates, and could not pray for their peace, nor give thanks for their success; considering the strong obligation of the oath of God that lay still upon us to maintain His Majesty's power and greatness according to our covenant.

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13. Upon the first motion of restoring His Majesty to his kingdoms, we did according to our place and measure appear in praying publicly for His Majesty's restoration, in showing our joyfulness on all occasions. And so soon as we heard of His Majesty's determination to return, we prepared an address to congratulate His Majesty, according to our small power, to add our mite to His Majesty's welcome to the possession of his own rights, and accordingly, upon his arrival, we sent two of our number to present it to His Majesty, together with tender of our most sincere and loyal affection to His Majesty and Govern-

ment; declaring ourselves resolved to live and die in His Majesty's service as became faithful and loyal subjects. Which our address His Majesty was pleased graciously to accept, and to express his esteem of us as his true and faithful subjects, and that we need not fear what since is come upon us, we hope, contrary to His Majesty's gracious intentions.

14. By all which 'tis evident that the whole series of our carriage from our first coming into this kingdom unto this day, doth hold forth our constant loyalty; in so far as we believe clearer instances can hardly be given of so many ministers of the Gospel together, who so constantly and under so many temptations and trials have stuck so closely to their allegiance to His Majesty, without dissimulations or waverings, and professed siding with every power that for the time prevailed; whereas we made it still our practice to fear God and honour the king, and not to meddle with them who are given to change.*

The truth of this Narrative appears evident by King Charles the II. granting a pension of £600 *per annum* to those ministers that survived his restoration, and to the widows and orphans of those that died before, and that upon account of their loyalty to him, and sufferings for him during the time of the usurpers. Nor had that prince broken his promises to them, and treated them so severely as he did, unless he had been instigated thereunto by his ghostly fathers.—*A Sample of Jet-black.*

* The above are the most important portions of what appears to be a document drawn up by the Ministers of the Presbytery in the reign of Charles II. McBride inserts it in his work, without mentioning the circumstances and occasion in which it was written. I have noticed no allusion to it in Reid. I have chosen it for insertion here, because it contains the most satisfactory and succinct account known to me of the attitude of the Presbyterians of Ireland under the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER XIV.

NATHANIEL WELD (1682—1730),

MINISTER AT DUBLIN (NEW ROW).

1. *Two Sermons* preached on a day of Fasting and Humiliation kept by the Protestant Dissenters in Dublin, on the sad occasion of the death of our late gracious Queen. The former by Mr. J. Boyse, the latter by Mr. N. Weld. [Iam. v. 16.] 4to., pp. 49. *Dublin*, 1697. M. C. D.
2. *A Sermon* before the Societies for the Reformation of Manners in Dublin, preached in New Row, April 26th, 1698. [Isaiah xxxii. 14—18.] 4to., pp. 20. *Dublin*, 1698. A. C. B.
3. *A Sermon* preached at New Row, being a Thursday Lecture, July 16th, 1714. pp. 22. *Dublin*, 1714.

MR. NATHANIEL WELD was sprung from an ancient Roman Catholic family of that name, residing at Lulworth Castle in Dorsetshire, England. His grandfather, Thomas Weld, became a Protestant, and graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1613. He was settled first as a minister of the church at Tirling in Essex, in connexion with the Church of England; but as he could not bring himself to submit to the ceremonies which were then strictly enforced, his position became uncomfortable, and he emigrated to the North American Colonies in 1632. There he acted as pastor of an Independent Church at Roxbury, and wrote several works up till 1641. He then returned to England on business. After transacting the business for which he was sent, he did not return to America, but became minister of Gateshead, near Newcastle, until he was ejected for nonconformity in 1662.

His son Edmund, father to the minister of New Row, graduated at Harvard in North America in 1650. Returning to England, he became chaplain to the Lord Protector, and accompanied him to Ireland. He settled as a minister at Blarney Castle in Co. Cork, but died in 1668, at the early age of thirty-nine.

Nathaniel was born in Co. Cork, in September, 1660. In February, 1682, he was ordained in the congregation of New Row, Dublin, as colleague to the Rev. Nathaniel Mather. The troubles which fell on Ireland in 1688 obliged him, in common with many other Protestants, to take refuge in London. When the country quieted down after the Revolution, he returned to his congregation, and took a deep interest in Presbyterian affairs, especially in the non-subscription controversy which was agitated in Ulster towards the close of his life. He himself was one of those Dublin ministers who occupied a sort of neutral position, midway between Independency and Presbyterianism. They had formed themselves into an association which they called a Presbytery, and as such sent corresponding members to attend the Synod of Ulster, but it does not appear that they exercised any presbyterial power over their own ministers or congregations. A feeble attempt to do so occurred, as will be seen, in the case of Emlyn; but he repudiated the idea that their action was an act of Presbytery.

Mr. Weld, as corresponding member of this consulting body or Southern Presbytery; attended the Synod of Ulster at its meeting in Derry in 1722. Like his friends Boyse and Choppin, without holding Arian sentiments himself, he sympathised, throughout the non-subscription controversy, with those who objected to all creeds as a test of orthodoxy.

Towards the end of his ministry the congregation of New Row built a new church in Eustace Street, into which they removed in 1728. It must have been at that time considered an imposing structure; for a Quaker, looking up at the stately front, is reported to have said, "Where there is so much vanity

without, there cannot be much religion within." Tried by this test, the churches we fear have not been growing more religious since 1726.

Mr. Weld died on the 8th of January, 1730. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Leland. At the time of his death, his son, Mr. Isaac Weld, had not completed his education; but the congregation of Eustace Street waited for him two years, and then chose him as successor to his father.†

A PRACTICAL REFORMATION.

A work beyond exception excellent at all times, and so highly necessary at this, that without some considerable advances in it, we may yet entertain the most dismal apprehensions of our own estate, and expect to be abandoned to all the calamities an incorrigible people can deserve. And yet this necessary work is attended with such formidable difficulties as would utterly discourage our attempts, and make us conclude our wound incurable, if we had no reason to expect the concurrence and assistance of a power above our own. To this glorious Spring of our help, my text directs you, wherein a happy reformed state of things is described, and amplified by the cause from which it flows and the happy fruit it bears.

First, a reformed state of things is described in part of the fifteenth and sixteenth verses. In it, persons whose hearts and lives were like a barren wilderness, became fruitful in universal holiness, and that to such a degree, that they who before were accounted fruitful, comparatively with them are but as the forest; among them judgment and righteousness abound—terms comprehensive of the duties of piety towards God, and justice and charity towards men. When a people are thoroughly reformed, these excellent virtues will flow down our streets like a stream.

Secondly, you have here the cause that produces such a happy change, viz., *the pouring the Spirit from on high*. This is necessary in order to it, as the warm beams of the sun and gentle fruitful showers are, that the face of our earth may be renewed again.

* Boyse's *MS. Letter to Dr. Steward*, May 7th, 1726.

† Calamy's *Nonconformists' Memorial*; Armstrong's *Sketches*; Weld's *Tour in Burgundy* (Memoir); Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. i., p. 24.

Thirdly, you have the comfortable effects of this reformed state, in abundance of temporal prosperity and peace, and the secure stable continuance thereof, even to succeeding generations ; seventeenth and eighteenth verses.

I am not concerned to inquire what particular time these words refer unto. Expositors generally agree that they had a partial accomplishment upon the return of the Jews from the Babylonish Captivity, and a fuller one in a spiritual sense at the coming of the Messiah, though some expect to see them literally fulfilled in a glorious state of things yet to commence. But my design from the words engages me not to determine in this matter, for I shall only improve the connexion which the prophet here observes between pouring out the Spirit from on high and such a plentiful increase of judgment and righteousness. And this shall be the subject of what I shall offer to you from these words.

Doct. *That the effusion of the Holy Spirit is necessary in order to an effectual and thorough reformation.*

Now the consideration of this truth leads me, first, to inquire what we are to understand by this pouring forth the Spirit from on high ; secondly, to shew what influence this effusion of the Holy Spirit has upon an effectual and thorough reformation. And when I have made some brief reflections on each of these, I shall chiefly insist on the application of this truth to the present occasion.—*Sermon on Isaiah xxxii. 14—18.*

CHAPTER XV.

THOMAS EMLYN (1691—1702),

MINISTER AT DUBLIN (WOOD STREET).

1. *A Sermon* preached before the Societies for the Reformation of Manners in Dublin, October the 4th, 1698 (1 Sam. ii. 30). 4to., pp. 23. *Dublin*, 1698. T. W.
2. *Short Account* of my case. *London*, 1702.
3. *An Humble Inquiry* into the Scripture account of Jesus Christ; or, A Short Argument concerning His Deity and Glory according to the Gospel. 1702. M. C. D.
4. *Funeral Consolations*; or, A Plain Discourse from John xiv. 28, being the first sermon preached after the death of Mrs. Esther Emlyn. pp. 56. *Dublin*, 1703. A. C. B.
5. *General Remarks* on Mr. Boyse's *Vindication* of the true Deity of our blessed Saviour. 1704.
6. *A Vindication* of the Worship of the Lord Jesus Christ on Unitarian Principles; in answer to what is said on that head by Mr. Boyse in his *Vindication*. 1706. M. C. D.
7. *A True Narrative* of the proceedings of the Dissenting Ministers of Dublin against Mr. Thomas Emlyn; and of his prosecution at some of the Dissenters' instigation in the Secular Court, and his sufferings thereupon, for his *Humble Inquiry*, etc., in 1702, 3, 4, and 5. To which is added an Appendix, containing the Author's own and the Dublin Ministers' account of the difference between him and them, with some remarks thereon. pp. 69. *London*, 1719. M. C. D.

THOMAS EMLYN, celebrated as the first minister who introduced Unitarian principles into Ireland, was born at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, on the 27th of May, 1663. His parents were Episcopalians, who educated their son for the Nonconformist ministry. From a Dissenters' Academy, in Northamptonshire, he proceeded to

Emmanuel College, Cambridge. In 1683, he was admitted as chaplain into the house of the Countess of Donegal, then residing in London. In the following year her ladyship came over to the family mansion at Belfast, and shortly afterwards was married to Sir William Franklin. Emlyn acted as her domestic chaplain, and during his residence in Belfast preached every Sabbath evening in the Castle hall. He lived on good terms with the Episcopal clergy, and, under licence from the Bishop, officiated occasionally in the parish church. Sir William having estates in the West of England, offered to present him to a living there, but from conscientious motives the chaplain declined the offer.

In 1688, the state of political affairs in Ireland was so threatening, that civil war might at any moment break out, and it became undesirable for any to stay in the country who were able to get away from it. About the same time some domestic differences manifested themselves between Lady Franklin and her husband, in consequence of which their family establishment was broken up, and Emlyn returned to England. For some time afterwards he acted as pastor of a small Dissenting church at Leostaff in Suffolk. It was while there that he felt his faith in the doctrine of the Trinity for the first time shaken, in consequence of perusing a *Vindication* of that doctrine, published by Dr. William Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's.

In 1691, he returned to Ireland, having been invited by the Rev. Joseph Boyse (see ch. ix.), whose acquaintance he had made, and for whom he had preached during his previous sojourn, to become his colleague in the pastorate of the congregation of Wood Street, then vacant in consequence of the resignation of Dr. Williams (ch. vii.). The subject of his preaching in Dublin was mainly practical, not touching on doctrine outside of the Apostles' Creed; for he carefully concealed both from Mr. Boyse and from the congregation the change which had passed over him since he had preached to them at first. It was this uncandid concealment of his great

doctrinal change, which was the prime cause of his subsequent troubles.

In 1698, Mr. Emlyn preached a discourse before the Societies for the reformation of manners, taking for his text—"Them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed." His main idea is, that God will amply repay them who try by suppressing immorality to do Him honour, while they, on the contrary, who are unconcerned for His glory in that respect, shall be objects of contempt and disdain. Gospel, strictly speaking, in the sermon there is none; he finds no place for the plan of salvation; nor does he teach his hearers that in the cross of Christ is found the true and only remedy for sin. The most important method of suppressing vice which he suggests is the penalties of the civil law; and he urges the people to inform upon the profane, by holding out the hope that God will reward such zeal both in this world and in the world to come. He instances those guilty of Sabbath-breaking and swearing, as persons who should be so treated. Heresy he did not think ought to be punished in a similar way; the difference being, that heresy is a matter of opinion which men hold on conscientious grounds, whereas no man, he thinks, can plead conscience for swearing and Sabbath-breaking. This is a remarkable sermon, viewed in the light of the preacher's subsequent history. His own prosecution, a few years after, showed that the popular mind could not appreciate this fine-spun distinction. If it was their duty to invoke the aid of the magistrate against the blasphemer and Sabbath-breaker, they could not understand why they should spare the heretic. It is always dangerous for ministers in their public teaching to recommend or sanction any weapons but the spiritual.

Mr. Emlyn was married to Mrs. Esther Bury, daughter of David Sollom, Esq., of Co. Meath, and widow of David Cromleholm Bury, Esq., near Limerick. This lady died on the 13th October, 1701, leaving behind her two children. The first sermon which her husband

preached after her death was founded on John xiv. 28—"If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, because I said I go to the Father." In this discourse, which has been several times reprinted, he pronounced no eulogy on the virtues of the deceased lady, but enlarged on a theme of universal application,—“that true love to our departed friends should prompt us to rejoice at their translation hence to heaven.” It was not published till two years after it was preached, when imprisonment gave him leisure, and when, no doubt, he felt it a sort of relief from the present to dwell fondly on the past. In the preface he alludes to the merciful providence, which called her away before she had to share in the bitter sorrow that fell on his house the year after her death.

For eleven years Mr. Emlyn continued pastor of Wood Street, never stating to the people all this time the peculiar doctrine which he held on the subject of the Trinity, nor disclosing his thoughts thereupon to his intimate friend and colleague, Mr. Boyse. Dr. Duncan Cumming, an intelligent Presbyterian layman and a leading member of the Wood Street congregation, observing that he never touched even by accident on the Deity of Christ in his public discourses, and that he either entirely passed over or attempted to evade the strongest proof texts in support of it, suspected the true reason, and having made known his suspicions to the senior pastor, the two waited on Mr. Emlyn in June, 1702, to ask him his opinion on the subject. When thus questioned, he honestly avowed himself an Arian, and offered without raising any strife to retire from the congregation. It is much to be regretted for the sake of all parties, that this course was not adopted. Mr. Boyse, however, thought it necessary to bring the matter under the notice of the brethren in Dublin—Messrs. Weld (see ch. xiv.), Travers, Sinclare, Iredell (see ch. xviii.), and Tate. They accordingly held a conference with him, and finding that he was decided in his Arian opinions, they assumed presbyterial powers, and agreed to depose him from the office of the ministry, an act

which, according to Presbyterian principles, they being duly called and appointed to govern the Church, had a perfect right to do without consulting the congregation. The Northern Ministers, in their *Address and Apology to Queen Anne*, speak of him as being "solemnly deposed from office by a Presbytery;" whereas Emlyn appears to think that the ministers who deposed him did not associate in that capacity; for he states, "I never knew any who owned themselves to be such in Dublin." The explanation probably is, that, being an Englishman by birth and education, and associating mostly with Episcopalians, he was not very familiar with Presbyterian forms and procedure; while the Dublin Ministers, on the other hand, having a spice of Independency among them, associated usually for purposes of counsel, and seldom attempted to exercise any ecclesiastical power.

The matter even yet might have been hushed up, had not Mr. Emlyn brought the whole matter publicly before the congregation, and asked their advice. It was suggested that he should retire for a few weeks to England, that there might be time for reflection on both sides, a suggestion which the Dublin Ministers, on being made acquainted with, fully approved, but strictly charged him, as a minister under sentence of deposition, not to preach in the meantime. Not understanding what deposition meant, nor why it was incurred in his own case, for, what seemed dangerous error in the estimation of others was simple truth in his, he could not see with what justice such an injunction was laid upon him merely for holding opinions which he had never taught, and had avowed only when he was questioned on the subject. The next day, however, he started for England, leaving behind him his two young children, who had recently lost their mother. In London he stayed ten weeks, and imprudently published a short *Account of his Case*, thus taking the public into his confidence in a matter, with which they had not very much concern. When he returned to Dublin, he was surprised to find that a great clamour against himself and his opinions

was raging in the religious circles of that city. For this he cast the blame upon his brethren, but the fact is that nobody was so much to blame as himself; for before his departure to England he had brought up the whole case in the public congregation, after the ministers had disposed of it in a very private and quiet manner. After that, of course it was impossible to keep it a secret; himself and his peculiar opinions became the common topic of conversation through the town. The feelings induced by these rumours led to the publication of his *Humble Inquiry*, in which with considerable plausibility and force he urges the common objections against the Deity of Christ, founded mainly on the Scripture language applied to the Son in His humiliation, as if that could furnish any satisfactory evidence of personal inferiority to the Father prior to His manifestation in the flesh—the true question in dispute, as we venture to think.

As the *Humble Inquiry* was about to issue from the press, a layman named Caleb Thomas, an office-bearer in a Baptist Church in Dublin, took out a special warrant from the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Richard Pyne, to seize Emlyn and his books, and he was obliged to give in bail to stand his trial on the charge of blasphemy. The case was fixed for the 14th of June, 1703. In the interval between the perfecting of the securities and the commencement of the trial, Boyse's *Vindication* (see ch. ix. No. 8) in answer to the *Humble Inquiry* made its appearance. Emlyn, who seems to have been far more sensitive in regard to the hurts received from others than to the still deeper wounds which his own hand inflicted upon himself, afterwards complained that the publication of this work was unseasonable, and that some expressions used in the preface were calculated to excite prejudice against him in his approaching trial. But Boyse was of opinion that no time should be lost in meeting the arguments of the *Humble Inquiry*, which was then in general circulation and everywhere talked about. He was anxious at the earliest possible moment to wipe off the stigma of error from

himself and his congregation. He had nothing to do with getting up the prosecution, and had no design of damaging the accused; and besides, the language of the preface is not, at least in my judgment, calculated to excite the prejudice alleged. His own indiscretion stirred the odium from which he suffered. The only matter for regret is that Boyse, however dangerous it may have been to himself, did not run the risk of condemning the civil prosecution as inconsistent with religious liberty, or that he did not at least defer his publication till the law had done its worst. Considering that the accused had been his colleague, and was still his friend, so much sympathy was due to the unfortunate. For this error of judgment, as will presently be seen, he made afterwards every possible reparation.

The trial excited great interest in the city. Six or seven bishops, including the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, were on the bench, the very place where they of all others should not have been. The indictment was for writing and publishing a book, "wherein it was blasphemously and maliciously asserted that Jesus Christ was not equal to God the Father, and this with a seditious intention, etc., etc. No evidence of authorship was produced, and the Chief Justice felt quite indignant that the defendant did not criminate himself by admitting it. All proved was, that in private conversation he had avowed opinions identical with those found in the book, which raised a sort of presumption that he was the author, and the counsel for the plaintiff boldly asserted, and the Chief Justice confirmed the assertion, that "presumption was as good as evidence." Of blasphemy, properly so called, no proof was advanced; the expression of erroneous opinions, apart altogether from irreverent or unbecoming language, was held to be perfectly equivalent. So odious did his offence appear to the public, that most of the lawyers refused to plead for the accused, and those who consented to do so were interrupted and contradicted, and so browbeaten by the court, that eventually they ceased from the defence.

The defendant then offered to speak for himself; but even this was not permitted; he was told to speak by his counsel. The Chief Justice summed up. He repeated to the jury that *presumption was as good as evidence*, and told them that *if they acquitted the defendant, my lords the bishops were there*,—a threat which if any judge now would dare to utter to a jury, it would infallibly secure the acquittal of the prisoner. But the cravens in the box did not resent the insult, and did as they were bidden. On being called up for sentence at the end of the term, the prisoner was ordered “to suffer a year’s imprisonment, to pay a thousand pounds to the Queen, or to lie in jail till it was paid, and to find security for good behaviour during life.” This was hard enough, but the Lord Chief Justice comforted the unfortunate with the assurance, that it was owing to his being a man of letters that he escaped the pillory, and congratulated him on living in Ireland; for if his lot were cast in Spain or Portugal, he would be burned at the stake. A paper was then attached to his breast, indicating his crime and the sentence pronounced upon him, and he was led round the Four Courts like a captured wild beast, to be exposed to the rude gaze and insults of the populace. Such was religious liberty, and such was the administration of justice in Ireland, in the reign of Queen Anne.

Sir Richard Steele, in the sarcastic dedication of one of his works to the Pope, alludes to this unhappy transaction, and concludes an ironical defence of it with the words: “The Nonconformists accused him, the Conformists condemned him, the secular power was called in, and the cause ended in an imprisonment and a very great fine; two methods of conviction about which the Gospel is silent.”

Mr. Emlyn lay in prison for the most of two years, being of course unable to pay the exorbitant fine. While in confinement he preached to the debtors in prison, and to some members of Wood Street who went occasionally to hear their old minister, and

occupied himself in writing an answer to Boyse. In his *Vindication of the Worship of the Lord Jesus Christ on Unitarian Principles* (see No. 6), he maintains that the Lord Jesus is entitled to an inferior sort of worship, but not to the worship due to the Supreme God, and attempts to show that in holding this view he is not fairly open to the charge of idolatry.

He afterwards complained that none of the bishops who looked on with so much interest at his trial, ever came to reclaim him from his errors or to instruct him during those melancholy months. But of all men, he says, the Dissenting Ministers of Dublin "were the most destitute of kindness," for, as he adds, "none of them except Mr. Boyse ever came to visit him, or to express sympathy, or to turn him from his errors." Perhaps ministers and bishops alike, thought that efforts to show him his errors might not be very successful; that in expressing sympathy they might not get from him much credit for sincerity; and that very demonstrative commiseration for his sufferings might be taken by their congregations and by the public as evidence of the bent of their own beliefs. Whatever their motives may have been, they did not visit him in prison. His antagonist, Mr. Boyse, was the only exception. He visited him often. He interested himself in his deliverance. Eventually he succeeded in securing the interposition of the Duke of Ormond in his favour; and at last, in July, 1705, the poor man was released on paying seventy pounds to the Queen's Exchequer, twenty pounds to the Archbishop of Armagh as the Queen's almoner, and on giving security for good behaviour during the rest of his life.

Considerable interest attaches to the history of Emlyn, because he was the first Minister of any Presbyterian Congregation in Ireland, who avowed himself an Arian. Though pastor of a Presbyterian Church, he does not seem to have understood Presbyterian church government, or if he did, he had no conviction of its truth. By birth and association he was an Episcopalian, and it was by reading the work of

an Episcopal clergyman, written in defence of the truth, that he was seduced from the faith. Personally he was an amiable and worthy man, with whom no fault could be found except that he adopted error on a cardinal doctrine of the Christian religion, and thus disqualified himself for teaching the whole truth on that subject, as well as on various others, to which that doctrine is related. He endeavours to inculcate the Dublin Ministers for their severe dealing with him; but it was not possible for them, as rulers of the Presbyterian churches of that city, to act towards him more considerately than they did, when it came to their knowledge that he had avowed principles at variance with the fundamental truths of the Gospel, and with the doctrines professed by that Church of which he had become a Minister. With the prosecution, which was instituted by a Baptist layman, and with the outrageous conduct of the court, the Ministers of course had nothing to do; it is only for his deposition from the pastorate that they are accountable, and no man who, considering their responsibilities in the case, reflects without prejudice, can fairly blame them for the manner in which the faithful execution of their duty was performed. In a pamphlet, entitled "The Difference between Mr. E—— and the Dissenting Ministers of D—— truly represented," the Ministers of Dublin thus speak in their own defence:—

"As to any other unjust calumnies cast on Mr. E——, the said Ministers not only had no hand in them, but did their utmost to rebuke them, and some of them did so in their public sermons; and they were sorry they could not free him from the main charge of denying the Deity of Christ, being from his own declaration fully convinced the charge was but too true.

"But they (the Ministers) cannot think any judicious Christian will arraign either their prudence or their charity for discountenancing a doctrine which strikes so deep, they think, at the foundation of Christianity. Nor do they think any understanding Christian will censure them for want of either prudence or charity, in their refusing to continue Mr. E—— as an allowed approved teacher among them, who had already begun to insinuate this doctrine; who upon inquiry openly avowed it;

who himself desired to be dismissed from his charge, if his difference of judgment on this point could not be borne with : nay, who professed himself uneasy that he had so long been under restraint from more openly declaring his sentiments concerning it. Nor do they see wherein they could have expressed more tenderness to Mr. E—— than they did in consistency with their own judgment, and the zeal they ought to express in defending the Faith once delivered to the Saints ; and in which they have the concurrence of almost all that wear the Christian name. And they are confident that no Pastors in any of the Reformed Churches would, in the like circumstances, have acted otherwise than they have done ; for they gave Mr. E—— time to consider the matter, declaring their readiness to receive him on retraction of opinion. So that Mr. E—— has no ground to complain of any unreasonable hardship in this matter. . . . And they do declare they have so great a respect for Mr. E——'s abilities, that it is not without extreme regret that they thought themselves obliged to disown him as an approved teacher among them. But they look upon the denial of the Divinity of our blessed Saviour to be a doctrine of too dangerous a consequence to be tolerated among them.”*

Language and sentiments such as these were worthy of men, of whom Emlyn himself honourably testified, “I would have done anything that with a good conscience I could, rather than have broken off from them, with whom I had lived so many years in friendly acquaintance, and whom I loved and esteemed, and still do so, as men of conscientious integrity according to their judgments ; none of whose personal characters I would be thought to blemish, in any things not relating to the present subject.”†

As to the prosecution instituted against him, nothing can be said to justify it. The law under which he was tried, the offence for which he was tried, the array upon the bench, the Lord Chief Justice, the trial, and the sentence, were all alike outrages on Christianity and common sense. That wicked proceeding made an honest man of very moderate ability a martyr ; it lent dignity to error ; and tempted men to think that there must be something good in principles for which a man could suffer so nobly. Such a discreditable business

* See Appendix to Emlyn's *True Narrative*, p. xliii.

† *True Narrative*, p. xvii.

we humbly trust may never be heard of in this country again. The true way of dealing with a man who adopts religious error, which is serious in its nature, and from which no admonition can reclaim him, is to exclude him from the Church, but in other respects to let him alone.

Emlyn, after his liberation, left Ireland and settled in London, where he preached to a congregation, until at last it melted away, and the shepherd was left without a flock. Arianism always disintegrates, never attracts; this has been the experience of many, as well as Emlyn. He then retired into private life, and devoted the rest of his days to the pursuits of theological study and literature. Thirteen years after he left Dublin, when the natural resentment which his sufferings had kindled had time to cool down, he issued his *True Narrative*, in which he gives a particular detail of his prosecution and experiences in Ireland. He wrote and published a variety of other works, most of which were illustrative of the principles for which he suffered, and all of which were collected by his son, and issued in 1746, in three octavo volumes. None of his productions is mentioned in our prefatory list, except those written in Ireland, or connected with Ireland.

Mr. Emlyn died of gout on the 30th July, 1743, saying in his last hours, "There is such a thing as joy in the Holy Ghost; I have known it, and oh! how much is it beyond the joys of this world!" He was, says the writer of his life in Aikin's *General Biography*, "one of the most eminent divines of the Arian persuasion, which this country has produced. His works are written with great ability on that side of the question, and still continue in considerable reputation among those who embrace it. He was what is now called a high Arian, believing our blessed Saviour to be the first of derived beings, the Creator of the world, and an object of worship."*

* *A Collection of Tracts* relating to the Deity, Worship, and Satisfaction of the Lord Jesus Christ, by Thomas Emlyn. London. 1719. Armstrong's *Sketches*; Aikin's *General Biography*; *Bible Christian*, vol. vii., pp. 8 and 44.

His son and grandson, the latter of whom died in 1797, were lawyers at the English bar.

It was probably owing to the noise of Emlyn's trial, and the fears which his errors excited, that the Synod of Ulster, at its meeting in Antrim, in June, 1705, adopted unanimously, in regard to their licentiates, the principle of unqualified subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith, as recorded in the following Minute:—

“That such as are to be licensed to preach the Gospel, subscribe the Westminster Confession of Faith to be the confession of their faith, and promise to adhere to the Doctrine, Worship, and Government of this Church, as also those who are licensed and have not subscribed, be obliged to subscribe before being ordained among us, which was voted and unanimously approved.”

Up to this time, subscription to the Confession was not imperative among Irish Presbyterians. Most of the Ministers, having already accepted it in Scotland, were not required to renew their subscription. Others, as in the case of Mr. Iredell (see ch. xvii., extract 2), were asked simply to assent to it. Had not error made its appearance among the ministry, this practice might have continued for many a year; but the case of Emlyn was a warning, and the practice of subscription was unanimously adopted. It is interesting to notice, in the light of subsequent events, that Dr. Kirkpatrick (see ch. xviii.) and Mr. Abernethy of Antrim (see ch. xxv.), both sat as members of the Synod which adopted the above resolution.*

* The practice of the Church of Scotland in regard to subscription prior to the Revolution is one of the interesting questions which Livingstone (see ch. xxvi.) put to Wodrow (see *Correspondence*, vol. iii., p. 84). The substance of Wodrow's answer is that up till 1610, Ministers and intrants subscribed the National Covenant: between 1643 and 1660, the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were still subscribed by intrants: between 1660 and 1690, there was a verbal assent to the doctrines of the Westminster formulary, but he is not sure whether at licensing and ordaining there was a formal subscription. In 1690, the Act was framed for subscribing the Confession.

See on this subject Calderwood's *History*, vol. v., p. 528, and *Acts of Assembly*, April and October, 1581, and also 1638.

REUNION OF FRIENDS IN HEAVEN.

Some not unfitly compare the saints of all ages to a fleet of mariners, all bound for the same port, though some arrive sooner, and some later, and they who have been first there welcome those that come afterward with joy and great affection. And what though our friends have outsailed us? It's likely we may come in with the next fleet, and meet at home, and then our love will be satisfied again. Perhaps ere it be long we may mingle our own ashes with their beloved dust. However that be, our souls hope to join in the same choir, and work with theirs for ever, and therefore should rejoice now in this hope.

True indeed we shall no more know them after the flesh, in the relation they once stood in this world. There shall be no more marriage nor giving in marriage, except it be the marriage of the Lamb, which they are waiting for, and for which the Lamb's wife is making herself ready—when, not we, my brethren—not we, but Jesus Christ Himself, shall be their glorious everlasting bridegroom. And as the bridegroom rejoices over his bride, so will He rejoice over them. Therefore it should greatly pacify us, as it did David, to say, “We shall go to them,” which is much better than their return to us. They have departed from us for a season, that we might receive them again for ever.

I may add, that this is the most effectual consideration in the world, from whence an affectionate mourner can receive full satisfaction, because it rather supports than suppresses his love to his deceased friend. True love above all things has a strong principle of self-preservation; it resists all things that would extinguish it, and abhors forgetfulness; no waters can quench it; it is stronger than death, and will survive its object. Now this consideration of seeing them again relieves and revives our love; it tells us we may cherish and keep it still, and that it shall have a fresh gratification in the presence of its restored object; we may love on upon a just ground, and may anticipate the pleasures of eternal society with our dear friends expected above. So that upon this account, in the midst of our anguish, we may imagine the angels' address to the disciples to be, with some alteration, made to us: “Why gaze ye so, and stand looking after them who have ascended? These same persons which are taken up from you into heaven, shall ye see coming again.” Oh that we could, like Abram, by faith so see that day, though afar off, as to rejoice!—*Funeral Sermon for Mrs. Emlyn*, pp. 35—37.

DISCOVERY OF MR. EMLYN'S ARIANISM.

I had been a preacher in Dublin (together with Mr. J. Boyse) for eleven years, to a congregation of Protestant Dissenters; who were generally a sober and peaceable people, not unworthy

of my love, nor had been wanting in any testimonies of affection and respect that I could reasonably desire or expect from them.

I own I had been unsettled in my notions from the time I read Dr. Sherlock's book of the Trinity, which sufficiently discovered how far many were gone back toward Polytheism : I long tried what I could do with some Sabellian turns, making out a trinity of somewhats in one single mind. I found that by the Tritheistical scheme of Dr. Sherlock and Mr. Howe, I best preserved a trinity, but I lost the unity : by the Sabellian scheme of modes and substances and properties, etc., I best kept up the Divine Unity ; but then I had lost a trinity, such as the Scripture discovers, so that I could never keep both in view at once. Till I had upon much serious thought and study of the Holy Scriptures, with many concerned addresses to the Father of lights, found great reason first to doubt, and after by degrees to alter my judgment, in relation to formerly received opinions of the Trinity and the Supreme Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . Accordingly, I was ever careful not to speak against my own judgment, or what should appear so to a judicious hearer, that I might not act against Christian sincerity ; and yet I never confronted the opinions of others by an express or unhandsome opposition. I doubted whether this was my duty, or was proper in the pulpit, where I could not have freedom to say all that was requisite in such a controversy ; and whether I ought at once to cast myself out of my station of service, without a more particular and direct occasion given me to profess my mind ; which I did apprehend might offer, and which I was determined to accept when it did.

One of the congregation, of leading influence, gave the occasion ; he had been brought up to the study of Divinity, but afterwards chose another useful profession, and had done me formerly so many kind offices, that I cannot impute what he now did to any ill-will to me, other than what a mistaken zeal is apt to inspire. By observing that I avoided the common opinion and those arguments which are supposed to support it, he strongly suspected my judgment to be against the Supreme Deity of the Lord Jesus Christ. Hereupon, having first put Mr. Boyse upon the inquiry, himself came with Mr. Boyse to my house, June 1702, acquainting me with these jealousies, and desiring to know my real sentiments in the matter ; adding after some discourse that he did not know that any one in the congregation, but himself, had any such apprehensions.

I now thought myself bound as a Christian to declare my faith openly in so great a point, and freely owned myself convinced that the God and Father of Jesus Christ is alone the Supreme Being, and superior in excellency and authority to His Son (or to that effect), who derives all from Him. I told them I had no aim to make any strife among them, and offered

to leave the congregation peaceably, that they might choose another if they pleased in my place. But this it seems would not be permitted me. Mr. B——, not willing to take such a weighty matter on himself, brought it on the stage before the meeting of the Dublin Ministers, to have his brethren's advice; though I told him he knew well the narrowness of their principles. At their desire, I gave them a meeting, and candidly opened my mind to them. We had, not without mutual sorrow, about two hours' discourse (as I remember), in which I professed myself ready to give my assent to the Scriptures, though not to their explications; judging I might justly use my reason where they so much used theirs, or other men's. And I would have done anything that with a good conscience I could, rather than have broken off from them, with whom I had lived so many years in friendly acquaintance, and whom I loved and esteemed, and still do so, as men of conscientious integrity according to their judgments; none of whose personal characters would I be thought to blemish, in any things not relating to the present subject; in which themselves will, I suppose, think there is no reproach, whatever others do. Upon this first and only conference with me, these ministers immediately the same day agreed to cast me off, and that I should not preach more; and this without having consulted my own flock, who as yet knew nothing of the matter, nor had made any complaint in order to such a divorce as they had decreed.—*Narrative of the proceedings against Mr. Thomas Emlyn.*

HIS RELEASE FROM PRISON.

Thus I continued long under close confinement, without much appearance of relief; contented with this, that I knew for whom and for what I suffered. Mr. Boyse made several attempts for my liberty; whose kindness I thankfully acknowledge, in that with great concern and much labour he pursued it from time to time; which has abundantly confirmed my affection and respects to him, and extinguished all uneasy resentments. I am sensible that what he did against me was with regret and grief, what he did for me was with choice and pleasure. So that I hope nothing in this history shall be any diminution to the character of his great worth and good temper; who endeavoured to allay the common odium against me as far as he could without the loss of his own reputation. At length, through his frequent solicitations for a reduction of my fine, and by a very friendly and generous gentleman's help (whom if I had leave I would willingly name), I obtained the then Duke of Ormond's favour; who gave directions to the commissioners of reduction, to reduce my fine to 100 marks; according to the Lord Chancellor's favourable report (to whom my petition had been referred), that such exorbitant fines were against the law.

Yet these directions to the commissioners were not received

by them as any authoritative rule ; but I was obliged to give in a petition to them, in which I set forth my case, and that I had acted from no designed contempt of the blessed Jesus, in whom I truly believed ; and was sorry that any had been offended (which also I wrote in a letter afterwards to the Primate), and that my fine was beyond my ability. On which they ordered it to be reduced to seventy pounds, which was paid into Her Majesty Queen Anne's exchequer.

But it seems I had not yet done ; for the Primate, Dr. Narcissus Marsh (who with the Archbishop of Dublin had sat on the bench at my trial), demanded a shilling in the pound of the whole fine, as the Queen's almoner. I thought his fees must have been reduced proportionably to Her Majesty's reduction, and that the Church was to be as merciful as the state ; but I was mistaken herein. In short, after several applications and letters to him, he would have twenty pounds off me, and so it was paid him ; who thought it no blemish to his charity or generosity to make this advantage of the misery of one who for conscience toward God had endured grief.

And thus, after two years and above a month's imprisonment, viz., from the 14th of June 1703, to the 21st of July 1705, and upon giving security, by two bondsmen, for good behaviour during life, I obtained a release from my bonds.—*Narrative.*

CHAPTER XVI.

JOHN GOUDY (1688—1733),

MINISTER AT BALLYWALTER, CO. DOWN.

Sermon preached at the Administration of the Lord's Supper.

JOHN GOUDY became Minister of Ballywalter in 1688. He survived the Revolution, and the debates of the non-Subscription Controversy, and died on the 20th of March, 1733.

He is said to have published a *Sermon* preached at the administration of the Lord's Supper. If any copy of it now exists, I have never seen it. That it once existed, I know only through the MS. *Catalogue* of Dr. Reid.

Tradition speaks of him as "Goudy the Prophet"—by way of distinction among the Ministers of that name connected with Ballywalter. He had the honour, extended to very few indeed, of being interred within the walls of the ancient abbey at Greyabbey.

In a letter from the Rev. Robert Jeffrey of Greyabbey, under date 25th of June, 1875, he says:—

"I have enquired more fully into the 'Prophet.' He foretold the death of the Queen Anne, on a certain day, and on that day she died; he foretold the ruin of the Echlinville (a local) family in a particular way, and it happened as he foretold; he foretold the 'split' in his own congregation, and it happened. These are samples of the things which gained for him the name by which he is *altogether* known here now. They are too absurd to write about in seriousness, but they are worth giving as curious specimens among others, as furnishing the basis of a name which has survived more than a century."

The following is a copy of the inscription on his tombstone, sent me by Mr. Jeffrey :—

“Here lyes y^e body of y^e Rev^d. Mr. John Gaudy : who departed this life March y^e 26th, 1733 in y^e 78 year of his age : Minister of y^e congregation : of Bellywalter & Grayabby nigh y^e space of 40 years. Also his wife Margret Gaudy : who departed this life : March y^e 2nd 1725 in y^e 58 year of her age with 6 of their children.”

CHAPTER XVII.

FRANCIS IREDELL (1688—1739),

MINISTER AT DONEGORE AND DUBLIN (CAPEL STREET).

1. *A Sermon* preached before the Societies for the Reformation of Manners in Dublin, April 22, 1701. [Prov. xiv. 34]. 4to., pp. 17. *Dublin*, 1701. T. W.
2. *A Funeral Sermon* on the death of the Rev. John Milling, Minister of Capel Street Congregation. [2 Peter i. 13, 14.] 4to., pp. 12. *Dublin*, 1705. A. C. B.
3. *Remarks* upon some passages relating to the Confession of Faith in the Rev. Mr. Samuel Haliday's Letter to the Rev. Mr. Gilbert Kennedy. pp. 25. *Dublin*, 1726.
4. *A Letter* to the Rev. Mr. Samuel Haliday, wherein the *Remarks* upon some passages in his letter to the Rev. Mr. Kennedy are defended. 12mo., pp. 24. *Dublin*, 1727. M. C. D.

FRANCIS IREDELL was Irish-born, and studied at the Philosophical and Theological School, which was established in his native county by Mr. Gowan of Antrim (see ch. vi.). He was thus one of the first-fruits of a home, as distinguished from a foreign, education.

On the 4th of March, 1684, he was licensed as a preacher of the Gospel by the Meeting at Antrim. He refused a call from the congregation of Loughbrickland, but accepted one to that of Donegore, over which he was ordained on the 19th of June, 1688, as assistant and successor to the Rev. William Shaw.

It shows the estimation in which he was held by his brethren, that although so recently ordained, he was appointed along with the Rev. William Adair of Ballyeaston to present the Address of the Northern

Presbyterians to Duke Schomberg, when he came to Ireland at the head of King William's Army, in August 1689.

His gifts as a preacher were such as to secure him very considerable popular acceptance. In 1696, the Synod of Ulster decided he should accept a call presented to him by the congregation of Armagh; but notwithstanding their decision, he determined to stay at Donegore—a piece of ecclesiastical contumacy for which he was afterwards rebuked. Ministers at that time were held more under control than now, and were expected to go to any sphere for which their ecclesiastical superiors judged that they were best fitted. In 1699, the Synod compelled him to accept a call to the Congregation of Capel Street, afterwards better known as Mary's Abbey, Dublin; the people promising to bear the expenses of his removal, and to pay him a salary of £100 per annum.

In 1701, the Synod of Ulster at its annual meeting in Antrim on the 4th of June elected him to the office of Moderator. The text, from which he preached at the resignation of his office the following year, is not stated in the *Minutes* of Synod. It was in the spring of the year in which he was appointed Moderator, that he preached before the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, and afterwards published his discourse on the subject of *National Righteousness*. He shows, first, what the righteousness is that exalteth a nation; it must be a righteousness diffusing itself through the nation; showing itself in good rulers, in laws which honour God, in treaties and alliances founded on equity, in a people sober and grave as well as industrious, and in a charity which shelters and succours the persecuted. He then shows how such righteousness exalts a nation; it makes it honourable, strong, formidable, and brings with it the blessings of peace and plenty. He ends by applying the truth, and by showing what men must do in order to promote this righteousness. It is a plain practical discourse without pretensions to eloquence, but calculated to be useful.

In 1705, Mr. Iredell was called on to discharge the solemn duty of preaching the Funeral Sermon of his colleague—the Rev. John Milling. This worthy young Minister had been brought over from Leyden, and settled as junior Pastor of Capel Street, in 1702. When returning from the meeting of the Synod of Ulster, which was held at Antrim in 1705, he took suddenly ill and died in Belfast. Mr. Iredell, in the funeral sermon that he preached and afterwards published, pays an eloquent tribute to his piety and worth.

In 1711, Mr. Iredell was entrusted by the Synod's Committee with the responsible duty of laying before the English Government, the answer of the Northern Presbyterians to the charge advanced against them by a Committee of the Irish House of Lords, consisting mostly of bishops, prominent among whom was their old enemy, Archbishop King, and also by the Convocation of the Irish Episcopal Establishment in the last meeting, which Parliament ever permitted it to hold. The nature of these charges is described with his usual lucidity, by Dr. Reid (see *History*, chapter xxiii.). From an unpublished MS., with which I have been favoured, I am enabled to give a copy of the Commission and Private Instructions, which Mr. Iredell took with him to London on this occasion, and which are interesting for throwing light on collateral topics of which no record is preserved, as well as for showing the charges which were brought against the Ministers by the venomous enemies with whom they had to deal.

IREDELL'S COMMISSION.

“We do hereby commissionate and appoint Mr. Francis Iredell with his first conveniency to go to London, and there to present his Grace the Duke of Ormond our Humble Address to him, and to take care that our Humble Address and Apology to Her Majesty be presented, and that he diligently and faithfully solicit the continuance of Her Majesty's protection and royal bounty to us by all proper methods according to instructions given him. Subscribed in name of the Presbyterian Ministers, and those of their persuasion in the North of Ireland, at Belfast, Dec. 4, 1711, etc.

“INSTRUCTIONS

from the Clerk of the General Synod to the Rev. Mr. Francis Iredell, with respect to the management of their affairs in London, in pursuance to a commission now given him.

“1. You are to present our Address to his Grace the Duke of Ormond, together with our Address and Apology to the Queen, and that you take care the said Address and Apology be laid before Her Majesty, and give diligent and faithful attendance till an answer be procured.

“2. That you wait on the Earl of Wharton, the Earl of Oxford, and Dr. Williams, and deliver them our letters, together with a copy of our Address and Apology, and that you wait on Sir Alex. Cairns, and Mr. Secretary Southwell, seeking advice from them, or from any other friends that can be useful in the management of our business.

“But in case you find circumstances such (as we cannot so well know at this distance) that it will be inconvenient to make application to any of those persons, we leave you herein to your liberty, and give you a discretionary power to apply to any person you shall think most proper.

“3. That you carefully from time to time during your negotiations for us, correspond with the following Ministers, viz., Mr. James Bruce, Mr. John Hutchinson, Mr. Holmes of Strabane, and the two Ministers of Belfast, and that by letters to the said Ministers you call the General Synod’s Committee when you find our affairs require it.

“4. In case a toleration be offered, you shall proceed in the affair with utmost caution, for you well know our ticklish circumstances, and the rule that be the judgment of the Northern Presbyteries, in their return to the Presbytery of Du’lin; pursuant to the overture of the late General Committee in Dublin, or the judgment and advice of the Synod’s Committee from time to time.

“5. Whereas, some facts mentioned in our Apology may be called in question, we have sent you the following particular instances which you may make use of in defence of our assertions as there shall be occasion.

“(1.) You are to notice we had very pressing repeated desires from the Congregation of Drogheda before we sent any supply thither.

“(2.) We have sent you a letter from Lord Sidney in 1693 to the Primate of Ireland, containing their Majesties King William and Queen Mary’s opinion that we should not be prosecuted for mere nonconformity.

“(3.) As to Church and College lands, take the following as instances:—A meeting-house in Dunbo, near Coleraine, was removed off the Church land, and the meeting-house of Ballykelly, near Limavady. In the congregation of Killmacrenau,

nigh Letterkenny, not only the Bishop refuses to let a meeting-house be built on Church land, but likewise influences the landlords to refuse ground for their use, so that they cannot get any ground for public worship.

"The meeting-house of Armagh at the expiration of the present lease is to be removed or pay a very extravagant rent, and the Bishop has absolutely refused to let the meeting-house of Dromore be continued on Church land upon any terms whatsoever. The same Bishop puts clauses in his leases that no Dissenter shall dwell on his land. Patrick Hamilton and four or five tenants more could not have their leases renewed only because they were Dissenters.

"(4.) If the instance of McKenzie in Cookstown be alleged for our ruining those that have left our sect, answer, he was turned out of his possession by Mr. Stewart for no other reason but that he did not pay his rent.

"Instances of Dissenters who have taken conforming apprentices—Alexander Lennox, in Derry, Mr. Frank M^cCartney, Captain Bryce, Mr. Sam. Smith, etc. Mr. Robt. Lennox refused . . . son for want of apprentice fee, not for being a conformist.

"Instances of Dissenters choosing conforming magistrates, Alex. Squire, Alex. Ash, in Derry; Mr. George M^cCartney, Belfast.

"If it be alleged that Mr. Ambrose disturbed the parson in the burial of the dead, answer, he only said, 'Will you not let us bury our dead?' and satisfied the clergyman of his innocence. As to Mr. Higinbotham, he by advice submitted to serve charges, though he was not guilty.

"For marriage prosecutions, and churchwardens so well known, we [need] not give instances.

"As to misapplication of R. D., offer, if desired, our Treasurer's affidavit to the contrary. [See Reid's History, vol. iii., p. 21.]

"The Philosophy School of Antrim is allowed by licence from the Chancellor of Down, and several conformists have had them educated there, with free exercise of their religion. Mr. Stewart, who kept another School of Philosophy at Templepatrick, was prosecuted to excommunication. There are innumerable instances of hindering Dissenters from keeping grammar and reading schools.

"We are vindicated from the charge of schism by Mr. Hales of Eaton, Mr. Polhill, and Dr. Edwards, by the Lords in their conference with the Commons on the Occasional Bill.

"Dr. Stillingfleet fixes the charge of Fanaticism on the Church of Rome.

"JOHN MAIRS, Mod.

"AND. CRAWFORD, Clerk."*

* From a MS. in possession of Samuel Crawford, Esq., Ballyshannon, and supposed to be a rough copy of the original documents in the hands of his great-grandfather, the Rev. Samuel Delap, of Letterkenny. (See ch. lviii.)

Mr. Iredell, to whom the above commission and instructions were given, had to report to the Synod of 1712, that he was kindly received by various parties to whom he was sent, but that, nevertheless, his mission was not successful. The reign of the last of the Stuarts was not favourable to the Presbyterians. It was not till the accession of the House of Hanover in the person of George I., that there was the slightest relaxation of the prelatie persecution.

Mr. Iredell did not take much to do in the non-subscription controversy, but his sympathies were entirely with the orthodox party. He represented their sentiments in the metropolis, and maintained a closer union with the Synod than Boyse and others did. His letter to Haliday, dated Nov. 28, 1721, printed in Kirkpatrick's *Vindication* (see ch. xviii.), shows that he was no partisan, but was naturally disposed to put a generous construction on the professions and conduct of ecclesiastical antagonists.

His last publication was a *Letter to Haliday*, printed as a pamphlet, in which he defends the Westminster Confession of Faith against the charge of determining a mere scholastic question in regard to the union of the two natures in the person of Christ, and shows with more learning than any of his previous works would lead us to attribute to him, that the Westminster divines affirmed Christ to be a compound being in no sense except that in which it was denied by Eutyches.

Iredell was not so able a disputant as Haliday, but one sympathizes with the orthodox and honest fashion in which he expresses himself on every topic that he handles. He died on the 31st Jan., 1739.*

HIS TESTIMONY TO THE FIRST NON-SUBSCRIBERS.

I cannot say I am intimately acquainted with all the brethren who declined subscription to the W. C. at last Synod ; but I must

* *Minutes* of Synod of Ulster ; Reid's *History* and MS. *Catalogue* ; Iredell's *Works* ; Armstrong's *Sketches* of Dublin Ministers.

needs say, I take as many of them as I am acquainted with (and why should I not suppose and hope the same of the rest) to be men of excellent parts, and well qualified for the discharge of the ministerial office. I freely own myself to be of the same principles in religion that I ever professed since I entered the ministry. It was to testify this I did at last Synod subscribe, with many others of my brethren, the W. C. ; but yet I bless God, I have not laid aside a principle of Christian charity and brotherly love, and hope by the grace of God never shall. The laws of Christ forbid me to call or account any man a heretic, who is not first proved to be one, either by his own declaration or by the testimony of two or three credible witnesses. What the author of this pamphlet [“The Mind of the Synod,” etc.] knows of the unsoundness of our non-subscribing brethren, he himself is the best judge. But for my own part, when I call to mind what they published in their circular letter to all the Presbyteries about a year ago, and in what strong terms they did at last Synod assert their belief of the Supreme Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ—the controverted Article of the time—I cannot but acquit them of those vile errors, which he plainly enough accuses them of.—*Letter to Haliday, in Kirkpatrick’s Vindication, p. 70.*

ORDINATIONS BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

You are surprised to find me saying that the Northern Presbyterians, even before the Revolution, did at the ordination of their Ministers require an assent to the W. C. And I should be not a little but very much surprised, if any surviving member of the old Presbytery of Antrim did deny this to be matter of fact. I’m sure it was so at my ordination, which being one of the most solemn passages of my life I do particularly remember. I was called upon in the face of a large congregation, by the Rev. Mr. Anthony Kennedy, who presided in the action, to own the Confession of Faith as the confession of my faith ; which accordingly I did, and have never yet seen cause to repent my doing so. And I have reason to believe that the same was practised at the ordination of others in that Presbytery, who were in the ministry some years before me. What the custom in other Presbyteries was I do not take upon me to determine, but leave it to others. But I believe I may venture to say that our Presbyteries in those days were pretty harmonious in the manner of their ministrations, and as zealous for the form of sound words contained in the Westminster Confession as they have been at any time since, though they had no written laws or canons.—*Letter to Haliday, p. 32.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

JAMES KIRKPATRICK M.D., D.D. (1699—1744),

MINISTER AT TEMPLEPATRICK AND BELFAST (SECOND CONG.).

1. *A Sermon* occasioned by the King's death and her present Majesty's accession to the Crown. Preached March 29th, by a Presbyterian Minister in the North. pp. 16. [Isaiah xlix. 23. *Belfast*,] 1702. A. C. B.
2. *Sermon* on the death of Mr. Arthur Upton.
3. *An Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians in Great Britain and Ireland* from the Reformation to this present year 1713, wherein their steady adherence to the Protestant interest, our happy civil constitution, the succession of Protestant princes, the just prerogatives of the Crown, and the liberties of the people, is demonstrated from public records, the best approved histories, the confession of their adversaries, and divers valuable original papers well attested and never before published. And an answer given to the calumnies of their accusers, and particularly to two late pamphlets, viz., 1. *A Sample of True blue Presbyterian Loyalty*, etc.; 2. *The Conduct of the Dissenters in Ireland*, etc. In three parts; with a Prefatory Address to all Her Majesty's Protestant subjects of all persuasions in Great Britain and Ireland, against the Pretender, on behalf of the Protestant religion, the Queen, the House of Hanover, and our liberties. 4to., pp. 564. [*Belfast*,] 1713. M. C. D.
4. *God's Dominion* over Kings and other Magistrates: a Thanksgiving Sermon preached in Belfast, October 20th, 1714, being the happy day of the Coronation of His Most Excellent Majesty King George. Prov. viii. 15, 16. 4to., pp. 28. [*Belfast*,] 1714. M. C. D.
6. *A Vindication* of the Presbyterian Ministers in the North of Ireland, Subscribers and non-Subscribers, from many gross and groundless aspersions cast upon them in a late scandalous libel entitled *An Account of the Mind of the Synod*, etc. pp. 82. *Belfast*, 1721. M. C. D.

6. *A Scripture Plea* against a fatal rupture and breach of Christian communion amongst the Presbyterians in the North of Ireland. pp. 12 and 91. *Belfast*, 1724. M. C. D.
7. *An Essay* upon the important question whether there is a legislative proper authority in the Church, and whether Christian discipline, truth, peace, and good order may not be maintained without it. With a refutation of some principles advanced in a late pamphlet, entitled *A Brief Review of a Paper*, etc., by some non-subscribing Ministers in the North of Ireland. pp. 100, 12mo. *Belfast*, 1731. A. C. B.
8. *Conclusion* of the Appendix to Duchal's Sermon on the Death of Abernethy. [This was not printed separately.] 1741. A. C. B.
9. *A Defence of Christian Liberty* in a letter to the anonymous author of a late pamphlet entitled *A New Creed considered on the principles of the Belfast Society, alias the Presbytery of Antrim, lately published by the Rev. Dr. James Kirkpatrick, briefly examined. By a Member of the General Synod.* pp. 102. *Belfast*, 1744. A. C. B.

CONSIDERING the important position which Dr. Kirkpatrick held for so many years in the Synod of Ulster, and the number of his writings, comparatively little is known of his domestic life. No funeral sermon was published in his honour. The place of his interment we have not learned. Far inferior men have had abundant details of their biography transmitted. The following comprises the substance of what we have been able to collect.

James Kirkpatrick, the author of *Presbyterian Loyalty*, was the son of the Rev. Hugh Kirkpatrick, who was Minister of Ballymoney in Co. Antrim from 1695 to 1712. He was probably born before his father left Scotland to settle in Ireland. He studied in the University of Glasgow, and was in due course licensed to preach the Gospel by the Presbytery of Route.

In 1699 he received a call from the congregation of Antrim, but owing to some matters of form which were not complied with, the Presbytery refused to tender it officially to him. But very soon after he accepted an invitation to succeed the venerable Anthony Kennedy at Templepatrick, where he was ordained in the month of August, 1699. During his

ministry there he printed two sermons, one on the death of King William III., the other a funeral sermon for Arthur Upton, Esq., the head of a family which was for many years identified with the Presbyterian cause in Templepatrick. The latter discourse is now supposed to be lost, but the former still exists. The subject of it is, kings the nursing fathers, and queens the nursing mothers of the Church. He shows *first* the faithfulness of God in accomplishing this promise in the past; *secondly*, the methods followed by Providence in its fulfilment; *thirdly*, that the persecutions that tyrants have inflicted on the Church are no real objection to the faithfulness of God in keeping His promise; *fourthly*, the grounds of the promise; and then he concludes with an application. In the course of the sermon he pronounces an eloquent eulogium upon William III.

The great numbers of the Presbyterian congregation of Belfast, and the absence of Mr. McBride (see ch. xiii.) in Scotland, consequent on his refusal to take the Abjuration Oath, made it necessary that the people should not be left without pastoral supervision. They gave a call to Dr. Kirkpatrick to become colleague to McBride, and this call he considered it his duty to accept, demitting his charge of the congregation of Templepatrick on the 24th of September, 1706. It was found on trial that the numbers of the people in Belfast were too great to continue in one congregation. An amicable separation was accomplished, and a second church was built. When McBride returned from Scotland, he resumed his place as pastor of the old congregation, and Kirkpatrick then became sole pastor of the second. From that time forward, he began to take an active part in the public business of the Synod.

The Synod of Ulster met in Belfast on the 17th of June, 1712, and was attended by ninety-six Ministers and seventy elders. Dr. Kirkpatrick acted as Moderator. The following year at Antrim he preached his official sermon from the words "Let the elders that

rule well be worthy of double honour," etc. (1 Tim. v. 17). It was not published; perhaps the ponderous work known as *Presbyterian Loyalty*, which he gave to the public about that time was considered a sufficiently great effort for the year. This elaborate dissertation was called forth in consequence of a series of venomous attacks made on the Presbyterian body by Tisdal, the vicar of Belfast, and was designed to show, in refutation of the charges of his antagonist, that Presbyterians in England, Scotland, and Ireland had maintained their loyalty to the British Crown under all vicissitudes of time and changes of government. The style of the work is so prolix and heavy, that at no time could it have had very many readers, but it preserves many valuable facts, and will always have an interest for any who wish to know the state of feeling and the political condition of Presbyterians in the reign of Queen Anne. The fact is, that the poor vicar, who took such apparent delight in turning the intolerance of the time to the injury of his dissenting neighbours, was not worth all the time and trouble spent upon him by McBride and Kirkpatrick. It would be a waste of shot to meet the charges of Don Quixote with the heavy guns of a battery; a smart shower of sparrow hail on the brass pot which he wore as a helmet would be a much more appropriate rejoinder. But the times, we suppose, required gravity; and "if the fool had been answered according to his folly," the sapient prelates of the time might have represented it not as a quarrel between clerics, but an affair of state. Presbyterians had to walk softly in the reign of Queen Anne.

Kirkpatrick early in life became a member of the Belfast Society—a private association of Ministers formed originally for mutual improvement, but which soon fell into the serious mistake of turning aside from the path of orthodoxy, and eventually did serious damage to the Presbyterian Church. From the time that the acts and sentiments of this society were brought up for public discussion in the Synod, all his

thoughts and influence were withdrawn from the common interests of the body, and diverted to the purpose of sustaining this small and noisy party. Of course he thought great principles were at stake; but he seemed to forget that still greater principles in which all had an interest, were passed over and neglected. Nothing henceforth seemed to him of any consequence, as compared with resistance to the principle and practice of Ministers being required, as a test of soundness in the faith, to subscribe the Westminster Confession. His first work in defence of non-subscription, was published anonymously towards the end of 1721, and it appeared under the auspices of Victor Ferguson, M.D., a respectable layman of Belfast. It came thus to be popularly designated *Ferguson's Vindication*, but it was of course well known that the real author was Dr. Kirkpatrick. It is one of the ablest defences of non-subscribing principles, which the whole controversy produced. So much is this the case, that the Synod of 1723 pronounced it "to be of a very dangerous and pernicious tendency," and "that the author or authors, publishers and industrious dispensers thereof, have been disturbers of the peace of this Church." At this stage it was not foreseen that the struggle would go to such a length as it did; but at a later point, when it became evident that it would eventuate in a disruption, he wrote his *Scripture Plea* to prove that it was an unworthy thing for the orthodox party to refuse to hold communion with the non-subscribers. This work appeared in 1724. Matters had then gone too far to be easily quieted down. The controversy ended by the Synod putting all the non-subscribing Ministers into one Presbytery—known in our history as the Presbytery of Antrim, and then by refusing in 1726 to hold communion with this Presbytery.

Drawn thus on step by step, he found himself in the end in a position which he did not contemplate at the first—shut out from the membership of a Synod, of which his father, and subsequently himself, had been

members for many years. It altered his ecclesiastical relationship, but not his status nor work as a minister. He went on as before, and supported, when occasion served, by his writings the cause which he had deliberately adopted. In 1731, he published an able pamphlet on the legislative power of the Church, which he shows to be alike inconvenient, and for all useful purposes unnecessary. In this he touches a great subject, the subject of Church power, on which there is much difference of opinion, and which seems to this hour to be not very clearly understood. In 1741, he wrote a concluding part of the Appendix to Duchal's *Sermon on the Death of Abernethy*, which is mainly valuable as giving the fullest account of the constitution and objects of the Belfast Society. His last work, *The Defence of Christian Liberty*, was posthumous. It was left unfinished at the time of the author's death, and it was printed and published as he had left it, by James Blow—the non-subscribing printer of Belfast. In this last work of his advancing years, the vigour of his style is obviously not impaired; but as if conscious of an isolated position, and of a failing cause, he loses his temper a little, and belabours his antagonist more with the strength of epithets than the force of argument.

Dr. Kirkpatrick, like all his coadjutors—the early N.S.S., was no Arian. He did not foresee, and most certainly did not admit, that the tendency of his opinions was in that direction, though that conclusion was charged on him and on them again and again. That he was sincere in his convictions, and that he honestly believed they did not lead to Arianism, is undoubtedly true. But time proved him to be mistaken. The tendency long latent showed itself after the first generation, and, on a much narrower field than that of the Synod of Ulster, has continued to manifest itself down to our time.

The story that tradition tells of his death is affecting. In the year 1744, he and his wife went together on some particular business to Dublin. When they

reached Swords, he suddenly alighted from his horse, and as was his wont he retired at a certain hour of the day for the purpose of prayer. Finding that he tarried behind the fence somewhat longer than was convenient, the good woman returned to ascertain what was the matter. Rising off his knees, the Doctor took a ring off his finger and put it on hers, saying to her in a very solemn manner—"Wife, take this ring, and I adjure you by the Lord Jesus, the Judge of the quick and the dead, that you appear with me at the last day at the right hand of Jehovah on high." They then pursued their way to Dublin, which they reached in safety. The next morning Mrs. Kirkpatrick was the first to rise: after some time, thinking that her husband slept too long, she returned, drew aside the curtains of his bed, and found him with his hands clasped in prayer. He was dead.

So far as I have heard, no inscription marks the stone, and no stone marks the unknown grave, which holds the ashes of the Minister who wrote *Presbyterian Loyalty*.*

THE BELFAST SOCIETY.

In the year 1705, this Society was first erected. It consisted originally of Protestant Dissenting Ministers, members of different Presbyteries, of students of Divinity, and candidates, whose places of residence rendered their attendance practicable. . . . Beside the stated members, there were some who occasionally assisted at their conferences. In a few years they came to be the object of the attention of the public. Sermons were preached before them upon the nature and scriptural terms of the unity of the Christian Church; the nature and mischief of schism; the rights of conscience and of private judgment; the sole dominion of Christ in His own kingdom; the nature, power, and effects of excommunication; and other subjects of that kind. By the accession of new members, and a change in the situation of some of the old ones, Belfast became the most central place for their meeting, whence arose the denomination of the Belfast Society.

* Kirkpatrick's *Works*; Reid's *History* and *Manuscript Catalogue*; MS. Note of the Rev. Thos. Croskery of Londonderry.

Under this character they were known till the year 1725 ; in which all the Ministers of which it was composed, were erected into one Presbytery, by the name of the Presbytery of Antrim. In this Presbytery of Antrim that Society does still subsist, but, alas ! under the disadvantage of having lost five of our ablest hands by death, and the removal of two more into other parts of this kingdom.

The plan that was formed for the business of the Society, by the unanimous agreement of its first founders, appears to me to have been the noblest, and the very best for improvement, that could have been contrived by men in their circumstances. It was this. At every meeting, two were appointed to read and seriously consider three or four chapters of the Bible, or more, according to the nature of the subjects contained in them, and to present to the next meeting the doubts that should occur to them, or that they should find in commentators, about the true meaning of difficult passages, with the best solutions of them ; the one beginning at the Old Testament, and the other at the New. These doubts and solutions were canvassed by the meeting, to whom they were presented. If the solution proved universally satisfactory, and yet had something uncommon ; or in case nothing satisfactory was offered in the Society ; in either of these cases a paper was ordered to be prepared and laid before the next Society, where the subject was resumed. In this manner we proposed to go through the whole Scriptures ; proceeding at every meeting to consider some passages subsequent to those that had been treated in the former. But this did not hinder any member from proposing his doubt or his difficulty with relation to any part whatsoever of the Bible, though it should not be within the bounds assigned to others ; and every one had a freedom to propose his doubt, which he apprehended had been overlooked by him whose province it was to have brought it in. And such occasional doubts were treated after the same manner as the former.

Another branch of our business was what we called a *communication of studies* ; that is, that every member should at every meeting communicate to the whole the substance of everything he found remarkable in the books he had read since the former meeting. By this means a bookish disposition was encouraged and kept up in all ; every man's reading came to be better digested by his talking it over to his friends ; new matters and questions were often started upon these occasions, that issued in some very agreeable *eclaircissement* of the subject in hand ; and, which was best of all, every individual member reaped the benefit of the learning contained in a great variety of curious books, which no single man among them had leisure to read, or perhaps money to purchase ; and for this end, care was taken that the same book should not be bought by any two of them, except where it was in constant and necessary use in the library

of every minister. And for the better managing of this part of our work, we endeavoured to procure the best intelligence we could of the most useful books that were published, in order to our making the best choice of them.

It was a fixed resolution amongst us, that at every meeting we should have a dissertation upon some select subject, and frequently we had two or three, prepared by order of the preceding meeting. The rule which directed our choice of proper subjects, and the manner in which we made it, was this; we resolved that papers should be prepared on subjects that had importance, as well as some difficulty, carefully avoiding too curious and unscriptural speculations, which can make no man wiser or better, accounting all questions about such matters to be foolish and unlearned, knowing that they do gender strife, according to the doctrine of St. Paul (2 Tim. ii. 22). Under this regulation every member proposed a subject, and out of the whole the Society chose such of them as were of the greatest moment. For the assistance of the persons appointed to form discourses, the Society conferred upon them, and advised them to the books they had seen on those heads, when the discourses were resumed; and frequently long debates arose, which were managed with great temper and strength of reason; no man disputing for victory, but searching impartially into all that could be said on both sides of a question for finding the truth.—*Conclusion of Appendix to Duchal's Sermon on the death of Abernethy, pp. 49—52.*

SUBSCRIPTION TO THE CONFESSION.

The Protestant Dissenters of Ireland never required of their candidates for the holy ministry subscription to the Westminster Confession, or any other Confession or book whatsoever, until the year 1705; though it had obtained for some years before as a custom among the Dissenters in the North for candidates to profess their assent to it at their ordination; but even that custom was introduced without any act of their ecclesiastical assemblies, there being no act for making it a term of communion before the year 1705. In which year a Northern Synod resolved to require subscription to the said Confession, from all their candidates, as the confession of their faith. But the Dissenters in the city of Dublin and South of Ireland have not to this day required any subscription from their candidates, who do all prepare their own confession in their own words. Having first presented it to their ordainers, upon their receiving satisfaction by it, they deliver it openly at their ordination, in presence of their ordainers, and of the church of which they are to undertake the pastoral care. Which has likewise been, and yet continues, the constant and universal custom of the English Dissenters, not excepting the very time when Presbyterian Government had all the civil sanction in England which the Long Parliament

could give it, and when the Westminster Assembly flourished, and was in the greatest vogue; who having compiled the Confession, would not have missed to recommend subscription to it, had that been ever intended as their design in composing it. And they discovered no great fondness of subscription, when they rejected a motion made to them, that they should subscribe the Shorter Catechism composed by themselves. Which is a plain demonstration that eminent, learned, and pious divines (a character, I believe, justly due to a great, if not the greatest, part of that venerable Assembly) may refuse subscription to a book that is sound and orthodox, and yet be as sound and orthodox as if they had subscribed it.

After the year 1705, divers northern candidates, upon a conscientious examination of the Westminster Confession, though they heartily approved the substance of the doctrine of Christianity contained in it, of which it is an excellent abridgment, they began to scruple several phrases, and thought it descended to some extra-essential points controverted amongst sober and sound Protestants, and on that account were a little gravelled and pinched by the form of subscription required in 1705; which therefore, for the care of their consciences, was allowed in many Presbyteries to be qualified by the verbal declarations and explanations they made before subscription, which were different according to the scruples that occasioned them.

By this time, some Ministers themselves began to make enquiries into the debates about Christian liberty, and the nature of those impositions which are supposed to be evasive of it. They took up no new principle which they had not before; for all the principles upon which they have acted are the essential principles of nonconformity, and the only solid basis on which it can stand. They all along denied that any power on earth could make anything necessary in religion, or fix any terms of communion which were not made by the exalted Head of the Church. And upon this foot they have always dissented from the Established Church; because as they apprehend she has required divers terms of communion, and made sundry things necessary, which Christ hath not commanded at all, and far less made necessary to the communion of saints, or to the sacred ministrations of the pastoral office.

The only debate amongst the Ministers upon this head was not about the above principle, in which they all were and still are agreed, but about the extent and application of it. The one party began to consider, that being obliged by their common principle as Nonconformists to disclaim all power of imposing or making anything necessary, as a term of communion, which had no Divine institution, it was as contrary to their own principle, that themselves should make unscriptural terms of communion, as to allow it in the Established Church. And then the next question was whether the binding of Ministers to the human

words in which the Gospel truths contained in our Confession are expressed, has any Divine institution. . . . The resolution of these questions seemed easy to them; they could never see any Divine institution for the human words of any confession, or for imposing subscription to them.—*Vindication of Subscribers and non-Subscribers*, pp. 18--21.

OPENING OF THE NON-SUBSCRIPTION CONTROVERSY.

In the year 1721, the very controversy which had split the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of London in their assembly at Salters Hall in 1719, was introduced into the Synod, though in 1720 the Synod, in their Letter to the London Ministers, had declared they would not meddle with the controversy, nor take any part in that debate. That synodical debate was scarce over, before another was brought in, upon a motion to subscribe the W.C. according to the terms of the Pacific Act. This brought on the carpet a long and warm debate, about imposing creeds and confessions as terms of communion. The worthy Ministers of Dublin, foreseeing the evil tendency of these proceedings, against which they cautioned the Synod with great zeal and affection, observed with pleasure the vindication of the orthodoxy of the N.S.S., with respect to the great article of our Saviour's Deity, recorded in the Minutes of that Synod; and they, and all the friends of peace, rejoiced in the Synod's Charitable Declaration, wherein they set forth, that "they did not intend to insinuate the least reflection upon the N.S.S., as if they were unsound in the faith, and that different sentiments on that head do not justify uncharitable jealousies or breach of communion among us." But the poison communicated by these debates, was too strong to be expelled by so weak an antidote. Supplications from the sessions of eighteen congregations* were read in open Synod, containing odious and scandalous reflections on Ministers as not sound in the faith, described by such characters as made it clear that they were pointed against the Belfast Society. Had the Synod reasoned with the messengers who thrust these scandalous libels into their hands, for showing them the evil of such vile calumny, they had exonerated their own consciences at least, if they could not convince the guilty. But their silence was a tacit encouragement to such evil practices. And the mean compliances the Synod made, by their declaration and subscription to satisfy the jealous, who laid them under an arbitrary inquisition, contrary to the rules of Christian discipline, proved a virtual licence

* The congregations whose zeal for orthodoxy exposed them to the above censure of Dr. Kirkpatrick were the following:—Kilraughts, Ballykelly, Donaghmore, N. Limavady, Londonderry, Muff, Convoy, Taughboyne, Aghaloe, Lifford, Omagh, Carrickfergus, Ramelton, Bailieborough, Clondevadock, Kinnaird, and Letterkenny—nearly all in the north-west.—*The Narrative Examined*, p. 26.

to these libellers to accuse all who would prefer scriptural discipline to their arbitrary and petulant demands. All the sixteen earnestly pray, that "all the members of the Synod, and of all inferior judicatories, may be obliged to subscribe the W.C. as the confession of their faith." This previous step was contrived to distress the friends of liberty. And in the Synod's Charitable Declaration there was an ambiguous clause, which was improved by those who had a mind to evade the force of that Declaration. The words are, "We earnestly recommend to our people, that they may entertain no jealousies or ill opinions concerning any of their Ministers, merely on account of their not subscribing *at this time*." The construction the uncharitable put upon it was, that if their Ministers would not subscribe in some short time after this Synod, they could not be entitled to the benefit of the Charitable Declaration; that there was to be no synodical breach *at that time*; it was to be the work of another time, of another Synod, when the N.S.S. would be more weakened and discouraged by the desertion of their hearers and the destruction of their congregations, which was immediately set on foot. For even before the conclusion of that Synod, an application was made to them for a new erection, merely on account of their Ministers not subscribing *at that time*; and in less than two years, three new congregations were erected on the same foundation, and more afterwards.

Immediately after this Synod, the pulpit and the press began to sound an alarm. A vile incendiary published a scandalous libel called *The Mind of the Synod*, charging the N.S.S. with Arianism and many other abominable errors, notwithstanding of the just vindication of them from those aspersions, standing upon record in the Synod's minutes; and though the late Rev. Messrs. Boyse, Weld, Iredell, and Choppin, eye and ear-witnesses of the whole transaction of that Synod, did by their letters published to the world express their full satisfaction with the proofs made of the orthodoxy of the N.S.S. in that great article of the Supreme Deity of our Saviour. And though they clearly refuted the calumny of that malicious, stupid scribbler, his scandalous stories were industriously propagated and believed by many, who treated with contempt the demonstration that was given of their arrant falsehood, a deplorable effect of horrid bigotry that stops all the avenues through which truth can enter into the minds of reasonable creatures.—*Defence of Christian Liberty*, pp. 47—49.

ORIGINAL ORTHODOXY OF THE NON-SUBSCRIBERS.

The Synod's minute immediately prefixed to their declaration concerning the Divinity of our blessed Lord says, expressly, that divers brethren (therein mentioned, who were indeed the non-subscribers, as appeared when that distinction was made a few days after that) did profess to believe that doctrine of the

Supreme Deity of Christ in the strongest terms, and therefore, how dare this false accuser attack their character on that head? Many hundreds were present and heard those Ministers express themselves in terms, which malice itself could not find any handle to catch at; and they have upon all proper occasions vindicated and maintained that blessed Gospel doctrine, and continue not only to profess it, but in pursuance of it to adore their great Redeemer as *God over all, blessed for ever.*—*Vindication*, p. 50.

And they have so great a veneration for the essential articles of the Christian faith and true reformed religion, which they find to be wholly contained in this book [the Westminster Confession], that they should not look upon themselves to be Christians and Protestants if they took the liberty of denying the truth of them, which hath been confirmed by the authority of Christ, and sealed by the blood of His faithful martyrs, to which number they are willing to be added (if it should be the will of God to call them to it, and if they shall be assisted by His grace to resist unto blood), rather than to disown, forsake, or deny that great Gospel doctrine of the glorious Divinity of our blessed Saviour, or any Divine truth; but especially such truths as are the necessary foundation of their hope of eternal life.—*Vindication*, p. 61.

CHAPTER XIX.

THOMAS GOWAN, A.M. (1706—1716),

MINISTER OF DRUMBO.

1. *The Power of Presbyters* in Ordination and Church Government, without a superior, asserted and proved from Holy Scripture ; or, Mr. Campbell's *Letter to a Parishioner* examined : being a vindication of a letter occasioned by his query. In a letter to the said Mr. John Campbell, established minister of Killead in the diocess of Connor and Sego in the diocess of Dromore. 4to., pp. 48. 1711.
M. C. D.
2. *The Religious Education of Children* described and recommended, in a sermon on Eph. vi. 4. *Belfast*, 1712.
3. *The Necessity of standing fast by our Christian Liberty* ; a sermon preached before the Presbyterian congregation at Lisburn, March 28, 1714. [Gal. v. 1.] pp. 47. *Belfast*, 1714.
M. C. D.

THOMAS GOWAN was ordained by the Presbytery of Belfast as minister of Drumbo on the 29th of March, 1706.

His first literary work, entitled *The Power of Presbyters*, was written in reply to a challenge given by the Rev. John Campbell, vicar of Killead, to the Presbyterian Ministers assembled in Synod at Belfast in 1710, to produce from Scripture a command or example for presbyters, without a superior, to ordain a presbyter or to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The synod justly considered it beneath them as a body to take any notice of the pugnacious vicar, but individual members, such as Kirkpatrick (ch. xviii.), Abernethy (ch. xxv.), and Malcome (ch. xxviii.), took up the

matter, as well as Mr. Gowan, and each of them wrote him a private letter on the subject. Campbell replied in *A Letter to a Parishioner*, — a very feeble and ineffective defence of the episcopal position. This led to the publication of *The Power of Presbyters*, in which Mr. Gowan gives copies of all the letters addressed to Campbell by himself and his brethren, and “then proceeds,” says Dr. Reid, “to review the various passages of Scripture usually relied on in this controversy, and to prove how inadequate they are to sustain the argument for the supremacy of diocesan bishops, which his opponent had deduced from them.” Mr. Campbell replied in an elaborate work under the name, *Mr. Campbell's Remarks upon a book lately set out by Mr. Thomas Gowan (a Dissenting Teacher of the Presbyterian persuasion)*, entitled “*The Power of Presbyters*,” etc. [4to., pp. 135. Dublin, 1712.] He goes over the different passages adduced by his opponents, and comments on them with dreary minuteness, but fails to turn aside their arguments with any degree of success. In reply to the passages of Scripture, which they adduced to show that the apostolic bishop is simply a presbyter of a single congregation, he admits this to be true, but adds that over and above them were apostles, and that of course the modern prelate stands in the place of this higher class of bishops—the apostles of the first century! He does not make it clear, however, that men like Laud, and Bramhall, and Roger Boyle, and Dr. King, who spent so much of their time in harassing those who differed from them with legal penalties and civil disabilities, were apostles of Christ; and I suppose it was for this reason that Gowan and Kirkpatrick and Abernethy were neither convinced by his argument, nor tempted to reply.

In 1712, Gowan printed a sermon on *The Religious Education of Children*, and two years after another which he preached at Lisburn, on the *Necessity of standing fast by our Christian Liberty*. The former of these discourses I have not seen: the subject dis-

cussed in the latter receives at his hand a sober and solid exposition.

Mr. Gowan left Drumbo in 1716, and removed to Leyden, in Holland, where for forty-two years he acted as pastor of the English-speaking congregation there. The university in that city, which had been founded in 1575, soon rose to distinction, and attracted to it many from the British Islands. As many as two thousand students from these kingdoms studied at Leyden in the century from 1650 to 1750. Several ministers of the Irish Presbyterian Church completed their studies there. Attracted by the facilities afforded by the university for obtaining education for their families, a number of English and Scottish people fixed their residence in the city. As early as 1609 a Scottish Church was founded by the magistrates, of which the first minister was Robert Durie, the friend of Andrew Melville. Later in the century the pastor of it was the celebrated Carstares, the friend of William III., and afterwards the principal of the University of Edinburgh. Immediately before Mr. Gowan, the ministers of the Scottish Church at Leyden had been John and Robert Milling, the former of whom resigned it to become junior pastor of Capel Street congregation, Dublin, and whose early death has been already noticed (see ch. xvii.); and the latter, uncle to Dr. Maclaine, the well-known translator of Mosheim's *Church History*, had also resigned lately in order to become pastor at the Hague.

In the Scots' Church, Leyden, Mr. Gowan laboured for two-and-forty years. In 1753, his increasing infirmities required the assistance of a colleague, which was allowed him "through the personal exertions of the Stadtholder." Before that time the congregation was on the decline. The university had ceased to attract British students. From the middle of the eighteenth century, Edinburgh eclipsed Leyden as a school of medicine, and young men preferred to study at home. Mr. Gowan died in 1758, and three years after his death the magistrates came to a resolution

that the pastor then in office should have no successor, "seeing that British students now no longer frequented the University of Leyden, and that there were no English families in the town."*

THE JURISDICTION OF PRESBYTERS.

Mr. Gowan having quoted Acts xx. 17, 28, Tit. i. 5—7, and Phil. i. 1, in proof that the apostolic bishop and presbyter were identical, thus proceeds :—

Thus I think it abundantly evident, that in the New Testament bishop and presbyter signify one and the same office, and that one is not superior to the other. But that I may more fully confirm this argument, and give a satisfactory answer to your inquiry, I allege further that the same power of orders and jurisdiction is ascribed to *bishop* and *presbyter*. Concerning jurisdiction, the apostle discourseth, (1 Tim. v. 17,) "Let the elders that rule well," etc. If this rule be not the same with the jurisdiction of bishops, I desire you may be so kind to your own cause as to show wherein lies the difference ; for my part, I don't understand it. And pray, sir, where will you find such plain scripture for the admired jurisdiction of prelates as I have now produced for the ruling power of presbyters? Is not here a plain text for the jurisdiction of presbyters without any superior? To the same purpose is that admonition of the apostle, (1 Pet. v. 1, 2,) "The elders I exhort," etc. And here I shall take notice of two words which fully establish the spiritual jurisdiction of presbyters. The word *ποιμανετε*, as many defenders of the hierarchy themselves contend, is often used for "government," and sometimes that of "princes"; but certainly it denotes the office of a pastor, and is a convincing argument that the pastoral office is vested in presbyters. The other word, *επισκοπουντες*, signifies, "to do the work of a bishop, or to exercise the episcopal office," which being, according to the apostle, the business of presbyters, shows us plainly that the episcopal jurisdiction belongs to them. So that, upon the principle I first laid down, I reason thus in answer to you :—"Our Saviour and His apostles have instituted no standing ecclesiastical officer superior to presbyters, and therefore we must conclude either that the power of ordination is committed to no ordinary officer, or else it must be to presbyters, and by plain consequence they may ordain without a bishop as superior. I do therefore, with the Rev. Mr. Abernethy in his

* MS. *Minutes* of Synod ; Reid's *History* and MS. *Catalogue* ; Stevens' *History of the Scottish Church*, Rotterdam, pp. 311—315.

answer to you, allege that it is preposterous to demand a place of Holy Scripture for the ordination of a presbyter without a bishop as superior, till it is fully proved that in God's word there is any standing officer superior to a presbyter.—*Power of Presbyters*, pp. 15, 16.

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

The liberties that belong to us are either civil or sacred. The first is what we are entitled to as men or reasonable creatures, and as we stand related and are incorporated into human society; in virtue of which relation our properties and natural rights ought to be maintained, and the privileges of that society preserved for us, till we incur a forfeiture of them. This branch of liberty is not intended by the apostle, and therefore does not fall under consideration. As touching the sacred or religious liberties which belong to us as Christians, I shall particularly discourse, because the apostle does so warmly exhort us to stand fast by them and assert them with zeal and fidelity. In the management of which point I shall essay by Divine grace to do these four things:—

1. To describe that liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.

2. To show what is comprised in standing fast by it.

3. To enforce the apostle's exhortation by proper arguments.

4. To prescribe rules for maintaining our Christian liberty.—*Necessity*, etc., p. 4.

OBEDIENCE TO RULERS.

Our blessed Saviour has not freed us from obedience to the higher powers in their lawful commands and injunctions. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers" (Rom. xiii. 1); that is, to magistrates supreme, and subordinate in all things that do not entrench upon the laws of Christ, and in all things where the magistrate has a Divine authority to command. We are enjoined also to "put you in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, and to obey magistrates" (Tit. iii. 1). Magistracy is a Divine ordinance, and those who are vested with it are the ministers of God. Their office is indeed a glorious office, and themselves are distinguished by the ensigns of greatness and authority, that they may be capable of serving the interest of the public, and advancing the happiness of the body politic. For "the rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil;" so that the sole end of all governing power is the benefit of human society, the encouragement of virtue and sobriety, the suppressing of profaneness and irreligion. Therefore we must be subject "not only for wrath, but conscience' sake;" that is, not merely from fear of the magistrate's vindictive sword, but from a deep sense of duty to God, and submission to His ordinance. "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's

sake : whether it be to the king, as supreme ; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him" (1 Pet. ii. 13, 14).—*Necessity*, etc., pp. 5, 6.

CHRISTIAN STEADFASTNESS.

As we ought to lay a sure foundation, and be established in our principles, so ought we steadily and resolutely to act according to these principles. How else can we "stand fast in that liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free" ? Can we be said to do it when we thwart our judgments, counteract our light, and our practice gives the lie to our principles and profession ? We must, as all other rational agents, propose to ourselves a wise end in all our actions, namely, to honour God and advance the interest of religion by the exercise of our Christian liberty ; and then again, we must pursue such steady methods, and be so regular and honest in our whole conduct and demeanour, that we may effectually compass that valuable end. For whereas the course of an honest and upright man is for the main of it chalked out, both by Divine revelation and the natural and eternal reason of things, and that so plainly and clearly that he may easily discern it without any great reach of wit or depth of judgment ; the way of his duty being open and direct, without any dark windings or intricate labyrinths, so as he needs no great depth of policy or dubious fetches to find it out. —*Necessity*, etc., pp. 27, 28.

CHAPTER XX.

THOMAS STEWARD, D.D. (1706—1724),

MINISTER AT DUBLIN (COOK STREET).

1. *A Tract on the Plague.*
2. *On Preparation for Death.* London (about 1721).
3. *Sermons.*

MR. STEWARD, before coming to Ireland, resided for fifteen years as Minister of a Dissenting Congregation at Debenham, near Ipswich. Finding that domestic responsibilities pressed severely on a slender income, he came to Dublin in the end of 1705, with a view of finding a situation in which he would be better able to support life, but without relinquishing his claims on Debenham. The congregation there anticipated his resignation, and chose a pastor in his absence, while it was still uncertain whether he would return or not. Under the pressure of circumstances, therefore, he remained in Dublin, and became pastor of the congregation of Cook Street, as colleague to Rev. Ralph Norris, and successor to the Rev. Elias Travers, the nephew of the Earl of Radnor.

The income that he drew from his congregation was £80 a year, but the people made him a present of forty pounds, to assist in furnishing his house. The perquisites of the office were next to nothing. He writes to his mother, under date the 28th April, 1708. "Funeral sermons are quite out of fashion here. I never preached one since I came, so that I get nothing in that way; and 'tis not the custom to give the

minister anything here for baptizing a child, so that neither burials nor births are of any advantage to me." On the other hand, his house rent and taxes cost him nearly twenty pounds a year—too great a sum in proportion to salary. Debenham was poor indeed, if Cook Street was any great improvement thereon.

At the meeting of the Synod of Ulster, held in Derry in 1722, Mr Steward, along with three other Dublin Ministers—Messrs. Boyse (ch. ix.), Weld (see ch. xiv.), and Choppin—attended as corresponding members of the Southern Presbytery of Dublin; and he and they were permitted to sit and vote as members of Court. The Church was then in the heat of the non-subscription controversy, and a vain attempt was made at that Synod to restore the peace which had been unfortunately broken. Mr. Steward, like the other Dublin Ministers, sympathized with the N.S.S., although himself orthodox in faith; but from this time he took deep interest in Presbyterian affairs, and after he had finally left Ireland, had regular accounts sent him from his Dublin brethren of the progress of the controversy in the North.

In 1724, Steward left Cook Street, having accepted a call to the Presbyterian congregation of Bury St. Edmunds, in his native country. In 1733, he obtained the degree of D.D., sent him by the University of Aberdeen, granted, the college authorities were pleased to say, for his services to Christianity by ministerial labours and printed sermons. He kept up a correspondence with such men as Francis Hutcheson of Glasgow, Dr. Doddridge, and the Dublin Ministers, Boyse, Leland, Choppin, of whose letters to him several still exist in manuscript, and are very interesting. Of his printed works, I have not been fortunate enough to obtain a sight. The last letter contained in the *MS. Correspondence* of Dr. Steward is one from Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, secretary of the Royal Society of London, dated the 30th of May, 1749. He was then in delicate health, and had lately lost his wife. The probability is that he did not survive long after.

The above information in regard to Dr. Steward is obtained from a thin folio containing about one hundred manuscript letters, of which about eighty are originals addressed to himself, and twenty are copies of his replies; which volume is the property of Sir Edward Reid of Derry. A few of them are in Latin, but most of them are in English. All the letters in the volume are perfect in themselves, and are bound up in chronological order. It contains an original letter from Francis Hutcheson, and another from Dr. Philip Doddridge. There are nine Irish letters from Choppin, Boyse, Strong, and Dr. Leland, all of which are interesting, Boyse's particularly so, as they were written in 1725-6, and are full of ecclesiastical gossip about Presbyterian matters both in Dublin and the North.

CHAPTER XXI.

SAMUEL HENRY (1695—1727),

MINISTER AT SLIGO.

An Apology. 1711?

SAMUEL HENRY was son of the Rev. Wm. Henry, the first Minister of the Presbyterian congregation of Donegal. Having passed his trials and received licence from the Presbytery of Edinburgh, he was admitted as a probationer by the Presbytery of Laggan on the 30th of October, 1694. On the 29th of May, 1695, the Presbytery of Laggan, meeting in Monreagh, ordained him as Minister of Sligo and Moyn. Three years after, he was freed from the charge of the latter, and his labours were concentrated on Sligo. In 1700, the congregation agreed to pay him forty pounds, a sum which, as the value of money then stood, was regarded as a fair income, if punctually paid, for a Dissenting Minister in a country town.

I know of no work published by Mr. Henry, except his *Apology*, and even it is known to me only from the reply given to it by the Rev. Edward Nicholson, a noted Episcopalian pamphleteer of that time, who was Chaplain to the Archbishop of Tuam, and who seems to have been a non-resident who kept a school some three or four miles out of Sligo. It appears that a woman in the neighbourhood—one Mrs. Cogan—had committed suicide, and that Mr. Nicholson did not scruple to excite a little ecclesiastical odium against his dissenting neighbour by saying that the melancholy

mood which led on to the fatal act must have been brought about by her going to hear Mr. Henry preach the doctrine of predestination. This called forth Mr. Henry's *Apology*, the substance of which was that the unfortunate woman had heard him preach but nine or ten times in all, that her mental depression may have been produced by other causes, and that, as some believed, predestination was taught in the Articles of that Church, of which his accuser was himself a minister. The *Apology* must have been a pamphlet of some bulk, as Nicholson in his rejoinder quotes from the 40th page. The title of that rejoinder is—"An Answer to the *Apology* of Mr. Samuel Henry, (who styles himself) Dissenting Minister of Sligo. In which *Apology*, he pretends, is contained a dialogue with Mr. Nicholson, etc., and a short account of the Established Church of Ireland's faith about Predestination, and some other points. By Edward Nicholson, M.A. Dublin, 1712." Whether Henry ever published any answer to this treatise, I have not been able to ascertain.

In 1724, Henry inaugurated one of the greatest debates which ever occurred in the Synod of Ulster, by rising up in his place, and saying that he had no freedom to sit in Synod with Mr. Nevin of Downpatrick (see ch. xxxviii.), until that gentleman should clear himself of the charge brought against him by Captain Hannington of Moneyrea. This was followed up by Mr. Nevin's trial, and finally by his exclusion from the Synod.

Henry in 1727 resigned his charge of Sligo, and retired to Abbeyfoile. His subsequent history and the date of his death are unknown. The only extract we can give from his *Apology*, is one quoted by his antagonist for the purpose of refuting it: we quote it simply with the view of preserving it.*

* MS. *Minutes of Laggan*; Nicholson's *Answer*; Reid's *History*.

ANTI-PRESBYTERIAN THUNDER.

'Twas not the Calvinistical doctrine, and Predestinarian flights of the Meeting-house Teacher in Sligo, but the anti-Presbyterian thunder and flashes of such as Mr. Nicholson. They are rather to be counted sons of Vulcan, than of the Church, who through a fiery indiscretion, to satisfy the scruples of tender consciences (that can't comply with all her injunctions and modes of worship), run them down as Schismatics, renters of the mystical body of Christ, denouncing excommunication and anathemas against them. That may well be judged improper entertainment for Dissenters. when occasionally they attend worship in the Established Church, to hear themselves and their profession reviled.—Quoted by Nicholson, p. 19, from page 13 of Henry's *Apology*.

CHAPTER XXII.

VARIOUS AUTHORS, 1712.

The present state of Religion in Ireland : containing—

1. An Humble Address and Apology of the Presbyterian Ministers and Gentlemen of the North of Ireland to Her Majesty, in relation to a late Representation of the Irish House of Lords.
2. Another from the same persons to Her Majesty, concerning the late Representation of the Irish Convocation.
3. An Address of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers in Dublin and the South of Ireland.

Which were all presented to Her Majesty, and received by her very graciously. To which are prefixed the said two Representations. 8vo., pp. 46. *London*, 1712.

A. C. B.

TOWARDS the end of 1711, when the Presbyterians were suffering under the weighty grievances imposed by the State, and made more intolerable by the Tory Government and bigoted Prelates, who directed public affairs towards the end of the reign of Queen Anne, the Irish House of Lords appointed a Committee, consisting of thirteen bishops, headed by the renegade Presbyterian, Archbishop King, and of eleven lay-lords, to draw up an Address to the Queen, on the subject of the Dissenting Ministers. Convocation, in the last meeting which it was ever permitted to hold in Ireland, prior to the disestablishment of the Episcopal Establishment in 1871, followed the example of the lords, and addressed Her Majesty on the evils of the times, one of which was the spread and growth of the Presbyterian "heresy" in Ireland. Though one paper professed to emanate from the Peers, the other from the Convoca-

tion, yet the tone, style, and sentiments can leave no doubt that both emanated from the Irish Prelates, and especially from Archbishop King. The complaint of both alike is that the poor Establishment is in circumstances of awful danger from these dreadful Presbyterians! The "gentle usage" shown them by the mild prelates, who had cast them from their livings, immured them in jails, harassed them with fines, and libelled them to the world, was repaid, they said, with gross ingratitude; they were very inhuman to their Episcopal neighbours, they were growing fat on the Royal Bounty—that is, on £1,200 a year, divided in equal shares among 126 Ministers; and out of that exhaustless fund, on which one prelate would have certainly starved, these Dissenters were able "to employ and maintain agents, support lawsuits, form seminaries, and set up synods;" and the fact was, that if Her Majesty could not devise some means to check the growth of "presbytery and fanaticism," they feel quite certain that the whole thing "will in time end in the destruction of the Constitution, both in Church and State." Many other charges of a like nature were stated in these vile and malevolent papers, so characteristic of the mitred renegade by whom they were produced.

In December, 1711, a Committee of Synod drew up an answer to the Representation of the House of Lords, and sent Mr. Iredell of Dublin to lay it before Her Majesty. The Address of Convocation did not make its appearance for some time afterwards; but when it did appear, the sub-Synod of Belfast, aided by a Committee of General Synod, drew up an answer to it, and forwarded the document to Mr. Iredell. The Dublin Ministers drew up a statement of their own.* A copy of the three is contained in the above rare and valuable pamphlet, and a short extract from each we now submit.

* This document is signed by Nath. Weld, J. Boyse, Alex. Sinclair, Tho. Steward, R. Choppin, R. Norris.

APPLICATION OF BOUNTY.

That any, even the least part of your Majesty's Royal Bounty was ever applied either to the sending such Missionaries (as they are called), or employing any agents, or supporting any lawsuits, or forming and maintaining any seminaries for the instruction of youth, is what we can by no means assent to, believing their Lordships' opinion in this matter to be entirely owing to misinformation; for that fund has been always divided amongst the Presbyterian Ministers pursuant to your Royal Letters, as may be fully proved whenever it is desired, with all the demonstrative evidence that any matter of fact is capable of.

We beg leave on this occasion to lay before your Majesty as a great grievance to us, that the education of our youth is extremely discouraged by our being deprived in many places of the liberty of entertaining common schoolmasters of our own persuasion—not to mention seminaries, the want whereof obligeth us to send our youth abroad, to the public prejudice of the kingdom. And even many of those who teach only to read and write in country parishes are prohibited and prosecuted, to the great prejudice of children and discouragement of parents, who are conscientiously concerned for their Education.

At the same time we humbly submit to your Majesty, whether there be any danger of poisoning youth by our principles, were they ever so publicly and freely taught—principles so perfectly loyal, and in the essentials of the Christian faith so agreeable to the primitive and the Reformed Churches.—*Answer to the Lords.*

DISSENT FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT.

We retain a dutiful and grateful sense of the lenity of the Government towards us, which instead of producing heresy has been one of the most powerful and successful means for checking it in this kingdom; for wherever we have been protected in the free exercise of our religion, the Romish heresy has lost ground. How far the Convocation have shown a merciful disposition in this very Representation wherein they assert it, and how far it is consistent with our grievances mentioned in our former Apology, we humbly submit to your Majesty.

Our Dissent from Established Worship is not founded upon the least contempt of the public authority that hath established it, but upon pure principles of conscience, conformable, as we humbly conceive, to the word of God. And unless our adhering to these principles, which we dare not forsake for fear of offending His heavenly Majesty, be interpreted in a bad sense, as if we were undermining and destroying the Church, we know not what shadow of reason there can be for that suggestion.

We know not of any concessions made us by the Convocation, nor of any demands made by us, except that of a liberty of serving God, your Majesty, and our country; which desire hath

been always expressed by us in the most humble manner, agreeable to all rules of decency and modesty. And how far our making demands, and yet that we could never be prevailed upon to propose any terms of communion, can be fairly reconciled, the Convocation, who must know their own meaning, are the best judges. We never heard of any other terms proposed to us except those contained in the public laws. Nor do we find any great encouragement from the temper of the Convocation, so far as we can frame a judgment from their actings, for making any proposals of that nature on our part.—*Answer to the Convocation.*

NEW ERECTIONS.

There is another complaint in their Lordships' Representation, which though chiefly levelled against the Northern Presbyteries, yet seems in other passages made more general—viz., of settling Ministers in places where there were none before : as to which we only beg leave to assure your Majesty, that no Ministers were ever sent by us where there were not a competent number of those of our persuasion, who gave them an invitation and call. And as those new erected congregations are few (not exceeding three or four in the three Provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught), so they were wholly occasioned by new families of Protestant Dissenters fixing their habitations in such places. And we humbly hope it can never be thought reasonable that such new congregations should be deprived of the same liberty, which their brethren elsewhere enjoy through the indulgence of the Government.—*Answer of the Dublin Ministers.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

JAMES BLAIR, A.M. (1709—1716),

MINISTER AT MOIRA AND LONDONDERRY.

Divine Providence, the security of the crown and subject. Two sermons preached in Londonderry, Dec. 8, 1714, being a day of thanksgiving observed by the Presbyterians of Ulster for the peaceable and happy accession of King George to the throne of these kingdoms. 4to., pp. 47. *Belfast*, 1715.

M. C. D.

MR. BLAIR was ordained by the Presbytery of Belfast to the pastoral charge of the congregation of Moira on the 17th of May, 1709. His ministry there was of brief duration. The congregation of Derry, during the declining years, and after the death, of Mr. Craghead (see ch. x.), had been looking out for a suitable Minister. They had asked for the Rev. James Bruce of Killileagh, and had been disappointed. Eventually they invited Mr. Blair, and he accepted their invitation. He was installed as Minister of Derry on the 2nd of June, 1713. On the 8th of December, 1714, the day of thanksgiving appointed by the Presbyterians to mark their gratitude to God for the accession of the House of Hanover, he preached in Derry two sermons, which were afterwards published at the desire of the congregation. The text in the forenoon was 2 Sam. vii. 18, 19, and in the afternoon 2 Sam. vii. 25; and both were printed in one pamphlet, with the title given above. There is nothing very striking in either discourse; they both contain a number of sensible remarks, are full of citations from Scripture, and are jubilant

throughout at the accession of King George. Nobody who knows what the Presbyterians suffered under the Stuarts, will feel any surprise to hear, that they were not inconsolable when the last of the line was gathered to her fathers.

Blair's ministry in Derry was very short. He died on the 21st January, 1716.*

THE PROTESTANT SUCCESSION.

My brethren, I earnestly exhort you to give glory in the highest to that God, by whom kings reign, for the happy accession of our sovereign Lord King George to the throne; and for the entail of it on his royal family. Divine Providence has interposed to bless us in this manner. To this purpose I would observe that this part of our constitution, by which we are happy in a Protestant prince already, is one link of that chain of miraculous providences which God was pleased to work for bringing about the late glorious revolution. By that we were delivered from the direful consequences of the maladministration of a popish king, whom God gave in His wrath and took away in His anger: and at the same time favoured with a prince whom God honoured to be our deliverer by the stupendous concurrence of His outstretched arm.—*Divine Providence, the Security of the Crown*, pp. 13, 14.

THE DEFENCE OF DERRY.

When I reflect upon the late glorious Revolution, as the foundation of our present happiness, I must observe that the defence of this city at that juncture contributed in a great degree for the accomplishing of that. And I hope I may say it without envy, many of you in this congregation, with your brethren from other parts, were active and successful, by the blessing of God, in that defence: and though several worthy gentlemen of the Established Church did great service then, it is certain the far greater number of such as carried arms in this city were of your communion. I know the generous part you acted then has been buried in oblivion, and the scope of the Preacher's words will bear too just an application: "There was a little city, and few men within it; and there came a great king against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it. Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city, yet no man remembered that same poor man."—*Ibid.*, p. 28.

* MS. *Minutes of Synod of Ulster*; Blair's *two Sermons*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ROBERT CRAGHEAD, JUNIOR, A.M. (1709—1738),

MINISTER AT DUBLIN (CAPEL STREET).

1. *A Funeral Sermon* on the occasion of the death of the Right Hon. Catherine, Countess of Granard, who died December 9th, 1714. [Rev. xiv. 13.] pp. 28. *Dublin*, 1714. A. C. B.
2. *A Plea for Peace*; or the nature, causes, mischief, and remedy of Church divisions. [1 Cor. i. 10.] Synodical sermon at Belfast, June 22, 1720. Printed at Dublin, and reprinted at Belfast. pp. 32. 1721. M. C. D.
3. *The True Terms of Christian and Ministerial Communion*, founded on Scripture. With a Preface containing a short account of the Author by Mr. Abernethy. [Phil. iii. 15, 16.] 8vo., pp 24. *Dublin*, 1739. M. C. D.

MR. CRAGHEAD was son of the Rev. Robert Craghead of Londonderry (see ch. x.), and was born at Donaghmore in County Donegal in 1684, of which congregation his father was then Minister. He received his school education in Derry, and in 1700 he entered the University of Glasgow. Having graduated there, he pursued his studies in Theology at the Universities of Edinburgh and Leyden. On the 11th of October, 1709, he was ordained as colleague to Mr. Iredell (see ch. xvii.), in the congregation of Capel Street, afterwards known as Mary's Abbey, Dublin.

He proved to be an accomplished and polished preacher. His style as a writer is much more smooth and finished than that of his father, but judging solely from his writings, he seems inferior to him in Christian simplicity and practical piety. From his lengthened

studies and foreign travel, he has caught somewhat of the manner of the world.

His first publication—the *Funeral Sermon* for the Countess of Granard—appeared in 1714, and is dedicated to the daughter of the deceased lady, the Countess of Donegal. It is a sound and sensible discourse, in which he does full justice to the character and virtues of her ladyship, who had long been a member of his congregation.

In 1719, he was elected to the dignified position of Moderator of the Synod of Ulster, and when retiring from office in the following year he preached the Synodical sermon, which was afterwards published. The text was 1 Cor. i. 10, and the subject ecclesiastical divisions—a topic which he handles with such clearness and power as to give the reader even at this distance of time a very favourable idea of his talents. The controversy inaugurated by the Belfast Society was then in its first stage, and the preacher took up the position that the erroneous opinions which had been mooted, being matters of inferior importance, might be freely tolerated in the Church, so long as their authors held, as he was persuaded they did hold, the fundamental truths of Christianity. “It is an excellent discourse,” says Dr. Reid, “but inapplicable to the state of the Church; for the points in dispute, however disguised under plausible and ambiguous phraseology, were not of secondary, but of primary importance, and as has since been fully proved, involved the vital interests of evangelical truth and Christian liberty.”

In the Synodical debates which followed, Mr. Craghead occupied an intermediate position between the two extreme parties, and used his influence for the purpose of harmonizing and of reconciling. He was at one with the orthodox party in holding fast the doctrine of the Trinity, but he agreed with the N.S.S. in asserting that the Church is not authorized in requiring subscription to any human creed as a test of ministerial communion. The truth as we believe is

that soundness in the faith is essential to a preacher of the Gospel, and that any expedient, which is not sinful in its own nature, found by experience best fitted to secure soundness in the faith, the Church is authorized to use. The experience of two hundred years is vain, if subscription to some such creed as the Westminster Symbols is not such an expedient: and should such a form of sound words ever fall into disuse, the day of apostacy is at hand. If this lesson does not brand itself very deeply into every Presbyterian spirit, the history of our Church in England and in Ireland speaks to no useful purpose whatsoever. Mr. Craghead, we admit, thought otherwise, and on his deathbed gave instructions that a sermon which he preached a few years previously, and in which his opinions on Christian and Ministerial Communion were embodied, should be published.

Had Mr. Craghead lived long enough, he would have seen himself refuted by the facts: that Subscription as a general rule secures among honest men soundness in the faith, and that non-Subscription as a general rule ends in heresy, are truths which the history of Presbyterianism in Ireland sets forth in the light of demonstration. But this worthy man had not our experience. He died on the 30th of July, 1738. In a meagre biographical preface, which served as an introduction to his posthumous sermon, Mr. Abernethy (see ch. xxv.) lauds his good nature, charity, and candour. It is to be hoped that he was endowed not only with these, but with other graces of the Spirit, which his biographer does not name. Apart altogether from the opinion, in regard to which we think him mistaken, it is quite certain that he was an amiable and accomplished man.*

ADVANTAGES OF UNION.

Union has hitherto been our strength and our glory. How

* Craghead's *Sermons*; Abernethy's *Memoir*; Reid's MS. *Catalogue* and *History*.

much soever divisions have prevailed in the lands to which we belong (and never did they prevail to a greater degree, or more to the reproach of our common Christianity), we have nevertheless, by the good hand of God upon us, been all of a piece hitherto. A perfect good understanding among ourselves has been our main support under a great variety of difficulties and discouragements, and has contributed not a little to the preservation and continuance of the Protestant interest in the kingdom. All the world saw what influence this had at the time of the late revolution. Our standing up as one man in defence of our religion and liberties, was under God the chief thing that baffled all the designs of our enemies ; and our known readiness to do so still has been the great obstacle to their renewing any such attempt since.

Union has enabled us and our fathers before us with joint counsels and advice to carry on the work of the Gospel to no small advantage. They, *i.e.*, our fathers, were men eminent for their zeal for God and a fervent charity among themselves. An admirable unanimity flowed through all their counsels. They vied with one another in nothing but who should gain most souls to Christ, and do most good in their generation. The Spirit of God was in them and with them, and accordingly their labours were blessed with great and remarkable success, the pleasure of the Lord prospered in their hands, and they became instruments of great good to this poor land. They laid a foundation which I trust shall never be razed. They sowed the seed, which I hope shall never be plucked up. But do the prophets live for ever ! Our fathers, where are they ? Scarcely the face of one of them to be seen in our assembly this day. O that the spirit which animated them may not be gone with them ! We have risen up in their place, and have not, I hope, been wholly idle or unsuccessful in the several parts of the Lord's vineyard where we have been fixed. Yet it must be owned, and with great grief of heart it should fill us all, that the power of godliness has been for some time under a visible decay, the ordinances have lost that spirit and life which used to accompany them, and the love of many doth every day wax cold. And now at length for our defection and other sins the righteous God threatens to send forth a spirit of division among us, and by that means to express His displeasure at, and pour contempt upon us.—*Plea for Peace*, pp. 28, 29.

PERSECUTION.

This is the last effort of bigotry and blind zeal. When anathemas and curses will not do, then follows persecution, in order to make the other effectual. The civil magistrate must be called in to do the priest's drudgery for him, and render his sanctions formidable ; and very formidable to be sure they are, when they come attended with the bloody executioner at their

heels, or when a man knows beforehand he must either yield or burn. What dreadful havoc and devastation this has made in the world, none who knows the history of it need be told.

It is indeed very strange it should ever enter any one's head that persecution is a proper means to make men religious, or to convince them of what they were not before or otherwise convinced of; unless it be that there are men in the world so blind and wicked as to speak and act wickedly even for God. Is religion a thing of such a nature that men by external violence and force may be compelled to it? Or, can a man's mind be convinced by any other method than by rational or demonstrative evidence? Or will cruelty to and hard usage of men's persons, make them think the better of us and of the principles professed by us? Will they not, on the contrary, make them detest and hate us, and, it may be, our principles for our sakes? At least, this is what persecution has a natural direct tendency to. To what purpose then is it used? Or what end can be answered by it, unless it be to make men hypocrites? And, indeed, this effect it often has; i.e., it makes men say and profess they believe what really and at heart they do not believe. It may make them fall down and worship their persecutors, as it is storied some barbarians do the devil, when in their hearts they abhor them. It is certain religion must be a matter of a man's voluntary choice, otherwise it is not religion at all; and conviction must flow from evidence, otherwise it cannot be called conviction. Nothing therefore, upon the whole, can be more contrary to all sense and reason than persecution. And surely I may add that nothing can be more contrary to the whole scope and genius of the Gospel. Christ's kingdom is not of this world, and therefore the engines and terrors of this world ought never to be made use of, either for supporting or promoting it.

By this time I presume the way is pretty well prepared for giving a direct answer to the above-mentioned question. And, from all that has been said, no other determination, I think, can be made but what has been before suggested, namely, that all true Christians who hold fast the head, Christ Jesus, and continue firm in their adherence to that one rule of faith and manners which He hath given us, ought, notwithstanding any remaining differences among them, to live in Christian communion and fellowship with one another.—*True Terms of Christian and Ministerial Communion.*

CHAPTER XXV.

JOHN ABERNETHY, A.M. (1703—1740),

MINISTER AT ANTRIM AND DUBLIN (WOOD STREET).

1. The People's Choice, the Lord's Anointed. A Thanksgiving *Sermon* for his most excellent Majesty King George ; his happy accession to the throne, his arrival and coronation. Preached at Antrim, October 27, 1714. [Ps. xx. 6.] 4to., pp. 20. *Belfast*, 1714. M. C. D.
2. A *Sermon* recommending the study of *Scripture Prophecy* as an important duty, and a great means of reviving decayed piety and charity. A Synodical sermon preached at Belfast from Dan. xii. 4, June 19th, 1716. 4to., pp. 25. *Belfast*, 1716. M. C. D.
3. Religious Obedience founded on *Personal Persuasion*; a *Sermon* preached at Belfast, December 9, 1719. [Rom. xiv. 5.] pp. 43. *Belfast*, 1720. M. C. D.
4. *A Seasonable Advice* to the Protestant Dissenters in the North of Ireland, being a defence of the late General Synod's charitable declaration; with a recommendatory preface by N. Weld, J. Boyse, and R. Choppin. pp. 22 and 57. *Dublin*, 1722. M. C. D.
5. A *Sermon* preached at Antrim, November 13, 1723, at a fast observed in the Presbyterian congregations of Ulster, by agreement of their Ministers, on account of *Divisions*. [1 Cor. iii. 3.] pp. 24. *Belfast*, 1724. A. C. B.
6. *A Defence* of the *Seasonable Advice*, in answer to Mr. Master-ton's *Apology*, wherein the differences between the Subscribers and the non-Subscribers are stated, and the reasonableness of their continuing in communion is proved; to which is added a Postscript by Weld, Boyse, and Choppin. pp. viii. and 216. *Belfast*, 1724. M. C. D.
7. *A Letter* to Mr. John Malcome, occasioned by his late pamphlet, entitled the *Dangerous Principles of the Sectarrians of the last age revived by the modern New Lights*. pp. 19. *Belfast*, 1726.

8. *The Nature and Consequences of the Sacramental Test* considered, with reasons humbly offered for the repeal of it. pp. 93. [Anonymous.] *Dublin*, 1732. A. C. B.
9. *Reasons for Repeal of the Sacramental Test*: in five numbers. pp. 75. *Dublin*, 1733. M. C. D.
10. *Persecution contrary to Christianity*. A Sermon from Matt. v. 14. preached in Wood Street, October 23, 1735, being the anniversary of the Irish Rebellion. pp. 44. *Dublin*, 1735. A. C. B.
11. *Biographical Memoir of the Rev. Robert Craghead*. [Not published separately, but prefixed to Craghead's Posthumous Sermon.] 1739. M. C. D.
12. *Discourses on the Being and Attributes of God*. 2 vols. New edition. *Glasgow*, 1755. T. W.
Posthumous Sermons. 2 vols. 3rd edition. *London*, 1762. T. W.
14. A MS. *Diary* in six quarto volumes. [Unpublished.]

THE father of this celebrated divine was in 1680 minister of Brigh, in the county of Tyrone. Four years afterwards he removed to Moneymore, in the neighbouring county of Derry, where he and his family were residing when the troubles of the Revolution fell so thickly upon Ireland. It shows the position of influence and honour that the Rev. John Abernethy of Moneymore held among his brethren, that he, in conjunction with Adair the historian (see ch. iv.), was appointed by a meeting of Presbyterian ministers held at Connor on the 22nd of January, 1689, to go to England in order to present an address of congratulation to the Prince of Orange, expressing their joy at his arrival, and giving assurances of their attachment to his person and cause. He remained in London for a year and a half, Ulster having been for a part of the time, almost all, in possession of the enemy, and the whole island in a state of anarchy and war. After the country quieted down he returned to Ireland, but did not settle at Moneymore, owing to the fact that the Magherafelt people had withdrawn from Moneymore congregation, and the residue, impoverished by the ravages of the recent struggle, were unable to fulfil their engagements with him. He resigned his charge, therefore, and became Minister of Coleraine in Novem-

ber, 1691, at which place he resided till his death in 1703. He did not give anything to the press, but there is a short letter of his printed in Mackenzie's *Invisible Champion Foiled*, and another in Craghead's *Reply to the Bishop of Derry's Second Admonition*; the subject of neither, however, affording scope for exhibiting those intellectual qualities assigned him by the testimony of contemporaries. He was, says the author of *Presbyterian Loyalty* (see ch. xviii.), "well known to have been adorned with the happy conjunction of three rare qualities which seldom meet in one man—viz., a sprightly quickness of apprehension, a great depth of solid judgment, and a vast memory, justly admired for singular celerity and long retention; and these rich intellectual endowments were replenished with a large stock of acquired knowledge, and accompanied with a generous public spirit, great piety, and remarkable candour and integrity. He was a man of polite address, and of that peculiar felicity in conversation as made him fit to be a companion to men of all stations and persuasions; from whom the amiable beauties of his mind, set off with a countenance made venerable with majestic gravity and humble sweetness, did at once command both awful respect and endearing love."

JOHN ABERNETHY the younger was born on the 19th of October, 1680, most probably at Brigh, of which place his father at the time was minister. When Tyrconnel's army suddenly swept down upon Ulster in the spring of 1689, and when his father was absent in London on the business of the Church, his mother fled from Moneymore with her children, and sought shelter within the walls of Derry. All her children there died during the siege. Her son John, then a lad of nine years of age, was fortunately from home on a visit to a relative at Ballymena, when Hamilton's troops, fresh from the Break of Dromore, overran the county Antrim. This relative made his escape to Scotland, and taking the boy with him, left him with his maternal grandfather—Walkingshaw *of that ilk*.

The future divine thus escaped the ruin that fell upon his brothers and sisters.

At thirteen, young Abernethy entered the University of Glasgow, and when he had graduated there, proceeded to Edinburgh, where he studied theology under Professor Campbell. He was in due course licensed as a candidate for the ministry by the Presbytery of Route on the 3rd of March, 1702.

After becoming a licentiate of the Church, he spent some time in Dublin, where the case of Emlyn (ch. xv.) was then making a noise in religious circles, and a proposal was made to the young Northern that he should become Emlyn's successor in Wood Street; but owing to his respect for the opinion of his father, who did not favour it, the proposal was declined. Soon afterwards he accepted a call to the congregation of Antrim, and about three months previous to his father's death he was ordained to that charge, on the 18th of August, 1703. He married an Antrim lady, who died early, about 1712; from which time he remained a widower till he removed to Dublin.

During the twenty-seven years that he spent at Antrim, inducements were frequently held out to him to remove, and he had to decline in succession invitations sent him from the congregations of Coleraine, Belfast, Derry, and Usher's Quay, Dublin. He was a laborious minister and an ardent student, throughout all these years. Duchal, his successor and biographer, recounts with pleasure his pastoral labours and his successful efforts to evangelize the Celtic natives of the Lough side. His printed letter in Gowan's *Power of Presbyters*, in defence of the Presbyterian system, has been already referred to (see ch. xix.). It would have been happy for himself and for many of his brethren, had his zeal spent itself mainly upon such pious and useful labours; but unfortunately he and a few of his neighbours founded a clerical association, which soon wandered from the design of its foundation, and encouraged a speculative and free-thinking spirit that ultimately rent the Church. Of the Belfast

Society, he was not only the founder, but the central and most prominent figure. It was his celebrated sermon on *Religious Obedience founded on Personal Persuasion*, preached before the Society at Belfast on the 19th of December, 1719, which mainly created the suspicion of unsound doctrine creeping into the Synod, and inaugurated the non-Subscription Controversy. There can be no doubt that John Abernethy of Antrim is the true father of the Freethinking School of Irish Presbyterians.

Like many another who has followed the same course since and before, he had not the slightest idea of the disastrous consequences, when he and his friends first deviated from the beaten path. Confident in his great intellectual powers, he seemed to think that he had only to point out the track, and that all his brethren would follow him. When it was too late to turn back, and when he saw that the new doctrines evoked such strong opposition from the people, and threatened the disruption of the Synod, he shrunk from that catastrophe, and in 1722 he published anonymously his *Seasonable Advice*, introduced with a preface from the Dublin ministers, in which he attempted to show that all the differences which up to that time had appeared among the members did not warrant a separation in the body. To this work, Mastertown (ch. xxxv.) replied in his *Apology*. This again called forth Abernethy, who now cast aside his mask, and published with his name *A defence of the Seasonable Advice*, in which he supported his original position,—a position which substantially amounted to this, that the N.S. Ministers were to teach and to preach any doctrines whatever which they were persuaded were true, and that the subscribing Ministers were bound to retain them in connexion and to hold communion with them notwithstanding. The Subscribers could not see this to be their duty. The fact is, that were such principles acted on in any ecclesiastical body, unity of sentiment and of action would be impossible, every church court would become a scene of debate

even on the most vital points, and peace would be at an end.

The crisis at last arrived, and not a moment too soon. The non-Subscription Controversy having been fought out at seven Synods, terminated in the collection of all the N.S. Ministers into one Presbytery, the Presbytery of Antrim, and their exclusion from the Synod in 1726. Cut off from the public field on which he had so often exercised his controversial powers, finding no excitement in the society of a handful of men holding opinions similar to his own, and mortified by the withdrawal of a large portion of his own people, who formed themselves into a new congregation in connexion with the Synod, Abernethy felt so uncomfortable in Antrim as to be ripe for removal any day. A call from Wood Street, to succeed Mr. Boyse in the charge of that congregation, was what gave him the opportunity, and in 1730 he went to reside permanently in Dublin.

His last years were spent in more useful and quiet avocations. He was thrown into association with the Dublin ministers, who with some few exceptions held the same principles as himself, and consequently he was not under the same necessity as in the North to fight his way. He did not appear again, to support in print the principles which had wrought such evil in Ulster. He entered once more into the marriage relationship, this time with a Dublin lady, who brightened his last days with her presence, and eventually survived him. He set himself with all his energies to obtain relief for his dissenting brethren from the Sacramental Test, the yoke of which at this time the Presbyterians felt to be very galling.

He prepared very carefully for the pulpit, on to the close. Much of his time was given to the preparation of a series of sermons, which he published under the title of *Discourses on the Being and Attributes of God*. This was regarded at the time as a very masterly performance. The celebrated Dr. Johnson read it with great admiration, but when he heard it was written

by a Presbyterian, the bigoted old Tory closed the book, and it is said never opened it again. However, Paley and other writers, have long since superseded what was once regarded as a profound and convincing treatise; so much indeed has it fallen in public estimation, that Dr. Chalmers, about a century after it was written, did not hesitate to pronounce it "so utterly meagre and insipid, that one cannot, without the slackening of all his mental energies, accomplish the continuous perusal of it."*

Mr. Abernethy died of gout in the head, in December, 1740. He left a manuscript *Diary* of his life in six volumes, which has never been published; if it still exists, a collection of passages from it, if well selected, ought to be interesting and useful. After his death a number of his sermons was given to the public. They are all on practical subjects: they indicate high culture and good taste, but appear lacking in that evangelical element, which we naturally expect, and have a right to find, in addresses intended for men on their way to another world, and destined soon to arrive therein.

He was a man of pure moral character, great industry, scholarly tastes, and superior talents; but it must ever be regretted that his influence was so injurious to the Church of which he should have been the support and the ornament. He could not perhaps foresee what was to come out of his doctrine—the duty of opposing all human creeds as symbols of orthodoxy, that men are bound to follow the dictates even of an erring conscience, and that the Church has no right to provide that its ministers should teach that truth, of which the Church herself is to be "the pillar and the ground." But the world now knows that nearly all who adopted these principles in England and in Ireland, ceased in due time to be Presbyterian except in name, fell away from the truth of the Gospel, and became Arians or Socinians. The tree is known by its fruit; after prolonged trial we cannot resist the conviction

* *Natural Theology*, Book I., ch. iii. 11.

produced by the experience of a century and a half, that the fruit of the tree which Abernethy planted in Ireland has been bitter and unwholesome.

A son of Mr. Abernethy became a merchant in London—a member of the firm of Abernethy and Donaldson in Rood Lane, Fenchurch Street. He was married to Miss Elizabeth Weir of Antrim. Their second son, who was called John after his father and grandfather, was born in 1765, and became the celebrated surgeon, about whom so many good stories were told some half-century ago.*

CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

God Almighty has not settled any model of civil government to be a standard for all nations in the world; it is the creature of man according to the Apostle Peter's judgment, and as such our regard to it is established by a Divine sanction. It is true the powers that be are of God, but that is by the disposition of His providence, not by any precept or institution. The Divine right of monarchy has been strongly asserted by some, who designed to flatter ambitious princes, and enrich themselves with the spoils of their fellow-subjects. But how weak their arguments are, has been sufficiently demonstrated long ago, so that it is scarcely worth while to take notice of such exploded notions, broached and maintained by men of degenerate servile spirits, and influenced by corrupt and basely interested views. Must we indeed pronounce sentence on them all as living in rebellion against God, who live in a well-ordered commonwealth, and yield a dutiful obedience to the government there established?

I own indeed a limited monarchy is a very happy constitution, and I believe there is none in the world more excellent than our own. May God still graciously preserve it from the invasion of tyranny, usurpation, and anarchy, as He has hitherto most wonderfully done! Yet still it is a human ordinance, which I don't say to lessen the respect that's due to it. We owe reverence and subjection to our superiors, not only for wrath but for conscience' sake, and ought strenuously to maintain that constitution, which experience shows us cannot be over-

* Abernethy's *Works*; Duchal's *Memoir*, prefixed to the *Posthumous Sermons*; Ree's *Encyclopædia*; Armstrong's *Sketches*; Reid's *History*; and M'Ilwain's *Memoirs of John Abernethy, F.R.S.*

turned without the ruin of all that's dear to us, as men and Christians. But it is the ordinance of God, no other ways than in a general sense, as all forms of government are, that are regular and freely chosen, according to the different genius and circumstances of nations. And as the consent of the people is the only just foundation of government, the right of the person governing must be derived from the same spring.—*Coronation Sermon*, p. 8.

PERSONAL PERSUASION THE FOUNDATION OF OBEDIENCE.

I design to consider the words which I have taken for the subject of this discourse [Rom. xiv. 5], not only as they are of use to Christians in their societies, recommending charity and mutual forbearance, but as a direction to every man singly : and they contain this important doctrine, that *Religious obedience is founded on personal persuasion*. We have all of us to do with God, and every man at last must give an account of himself in particular. It concerns us therefore to govern ourselves by some steady principle, which may give us confidence towards our great Lord at His appearance. It is from Him we are to expect our reward, and what may please Him ought to be the only point in question with His servants. The decisions of men are not infallible declarations of His mind, and we cannot be safe in submitting to them absolutely ; though our doing so may secure us against the reproaches of the world, yet it will not be a sufficient defence against the reproaches of our consciences or the displeasure of God.

The Apostle rather recommends another rule, namely, *the full persuasion of our own minds*. I suppose it will be allowed he means a persuasion concerning the truth of what we profess, or the lawfulness of what we do. To imagine that we are necessarily determined to a particular opinion, as if he had said, Let every man have a right persuasion and let his sentiments be exactly agreeable to the truth, otherwise he shall not be accepted—I say, to imagine this were to make the rule entirely useless, because it could never be applied, and to contradict the plain design of the whole chapter. For he all along supposes a difference both of judgment and practice to remain, and yet teaches that it will not affect the state of any man with respect to the favour of God ; for “the kingdom of God is not (the essence of Christianity does not consist in, and our acceptance does not depend on) meat and drink (any external observances, or abstaining from them, or men’s different opinions concerning them), but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.” For he that in these things serveth Christ is acceptable to God, and (ought to be) approved of men (verses 17, 18). I think therefore it is certain the text must be thus understood. All sincere Christians have not attained to an equal measure of understanding, nor can be, after their most impartial enquiries,

of the same sentiments in every particular. But let none be shocked in their charity towards others, or in the hopes of their own acceptance on that account. Let every man enjoy the freedom of following the light of his conscience, and no Christians carry their zeal for agreement so far as to break in upon the essential condition of our title to God's favour, which is acting sincerely according to the inward conviction of our minds.

The Apostle's rule, according to this plain sense of it, is so evident, so perfectly agreeable to the invariable reason and nature of things, and to the declarations of the Gospel, not a few texts only, but the general design and tenor of the Christian Revelation, one would think there should be no debate concerning it. But the interests and passions of men dividing them into parties, and engaging them to pursue other ends than purely those of religion, have given birth to strange inventions, and been able to raise such clouds as involve the most important truths in thick darkness. I shall therefore think it not unnecessary to illustrate by some arguments what the Spirit of God has here so clearly taught us.

But before I come to that, I shall first explain the nature of the persuasion which is here required, and whereby a man must hope to be approved of God, and justified to himself.

Secondly, I shall consider the proper object of our persuasion, or what things they are concerning which we must be persuaded.—*Sermon on Religious Obedience*, pp. 8—11.

THE SEASONABLE ADVICE.

I have now finished what I intended on this subject: and as a conclusion I will reduce the substance of what I have said to a few plain propositions. . . .

First, Christians ought not to slander one another, they ought not to report things to the prejudice of their fellow-Christians' characters (particularly Ministers), nor entertain jealousies without evidence.

Secondly, the different ways used by Ministers in mentioning the Confession of Faith at Baptism are no sufficient reason for Separate Communion; that form used by some, *viz.*, recommending it as a good abridgment of Christian Doctrine, and advising parents and others to compare it with and examine it by the Scriptures, is perfectly agreeable to Protestant principles, and being so (and no other form prescribed by any rules among the Presbyterians) it is no just cause of reflecting on or separating from any Ministers.

Thirdly, the difference of opinions among Ministers about intrants into the ministry, their subscribing the Westminster Confession as the sole test of orthodoxy (with an allowance to alter some scrupled phrases), or leaving the intrant to his liberty to make that or any other satisfying profession of his

orthodoxy ; this difference ought not on either side to cause a breach of communion.

Fourthly, some ministers declining to vote with the late Synod in their declaration concerning the Divinity of Christ, is no evidence of their unsoundness in that article ; since the Synod themselves declare they know none of their communion unsound in that point, and farther assert in their minutes that those ministers who did not vote yet professed the doctrines in the strongest terms, and that the reason of their not voting was that they could not approve of human authoritative decisions as tests of orthodoxy, and in their opinion such a declaration was unseasonable at that time.

Fifthly, some ministers not subscribing the Westminster Confession at the last Synod, is no sufficient proof of their unsoundness in the faith.

Sixthly, since not subscribing the Westminster Confession at the last Synod is no sufficient evidence of unsoundness (there being no other pretence whereby it can be said otherwise to disqualify them according to the gospel rules), no Synod or other ecclesiastical assembly has right or authority from *Christ the sole Head and King* of His Church, to exclude them on that account from Christian and ministerial communion.

Seventhly, since not subscribing is no evidence of unsoundness, and ecclesiastical assemblies cannot justly on that account exclude ministers from ministerial communion, the people ought not therefore to condemn them or desert their ministry, and they cannot do it consistently with their principles as Presbyterians.

I will now take my leave of the parties with this earnest request, that whereunto they have attained, they will walk by the same rule and mind the same things : and wherein they differ, that they will exercise Christian charity and mutual forbearance. Let them not (especially the ministers) charge the consequences which they apprehend to follow from the opinions they oppose on the intentions of each other ; for that is unworthy of scholars, of Christians and divines, and very disagreeable to their own charitable declarations. Let not subscribers say that their brethren, if they are not erroneous themselves, yet intend to screen heretics from censure and to introduce heresy and scepticism into the Church ; nor non-subscribers insinuate that those who differ from them in this point designedly favour Popery, that they claim infallibility, or deny the perfection of the Scriptures. Such insinuations on both sides are really unjust as well as uncharitable. Let them follow after those things which make for peace, and I hope by the blessing of God on their pious and peaceful endeavours, the difference among them and their people will yet be happily healed.—*Seasonable Advice*, pp. 52—57.

ADVICE OF THE DUBLIN BRETHREN.

The sum of it is this : when the Pacific Act was made at the Synod in the year 1720, while there were great animosities among the people of our persuasion in the North, occasioned chiefly by surmises of a design to lay aside the Westminster Confession of Faith—this act, I say, was differently understood by the members who consented to it, and by others. Some thought that by it intrants were obliged by their subscription to declare their assent to the substance of all the propositions contained in the confession, with an allowance only to explain such phrases as might appear to them doubtful ; others were of opinion that this liberty extended farther, and that intrants might be admitted if they subscribed to the substance of the doctrine, that is, the more important articles, though they could not declare their assent to some lesser points which are decided in that system : but all agreed, and the act expressly declares it, that Presbyteries were empowered to judge of such explications, as should be offered by candidates who had any scruples about subscribing, and required to accept them, providing they thought them agreeable to the substance of the doctrine, and the persons sound in the faith. From this diversity of sentiments and some other occasions, new jealousies took their rise, and division was likely to grow to a greater height than ever. In this case, as the Presbytery in Dublin were perfectly apprized of our circumstances, and affectionately concerned to have peace restored among us, they interposed by very pressing letters for accommodating our differences ; which not being effectual, they sent a deputation—viz., the Rev. Mr. Weld, Mr. Boyse, and Mr. Choppin—to assist by their counsels at the meeting of Synod in June, 1721.

These ministers, pursuant to their instructions from their Presbytery, proposed an expedient to an interloquitur of the Synod ; but the proposal coming too late, and the ferment that then appeared rendering it unseasonable, as themselves tell us, they took the occasion of recommending it again to the consideration of their reverend brethren in the North, in a preface which they wrote to the *Seasonable Advice*. The expedient is this—“To allow the intrant his choice either to subscribe according to the Pacific Act, or to make a declaration of his faith in his own words, in which if anything be found contrary to sound doctrine and the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Presbytery that are to concur in his ordination may refuse to admit him.” And afterwards they add, “That those who are to ordain may ask any questions they think fit, as a farther trial of the intrant.”

The last general Synod have fully declared their opinion of this expedient, in their second resolution ; for they say, “Though it may be alleged that candidates for the ministry, by words of

their own, may declare their faith to the satisfaction of their ordainers, yet that a particular part of this church should have it in their power to judge what in that case must be satisfactory to the whole body is too great a trust, and extremely dangerous."—*Defence of the Seasonable Advice*, pp. 101, 102.

ORIGIN OF THE SACRAMENTAL TEST.

But in Ireland the Sacramental Test was never imposed till the year 1703, and a very little reflexion will satisfy any impartial person, whether it was then a proper return for the services the Dissenters had done to the Protestant and British interest. I have already observed, and will not now repeat, what their behaviour was at the revolution; the authentic testimony given to it by the resolutions both of the House of Commons in England and Ireland, already referred to, is sufficient to silence all objections. And their loyal affection to King William during his whole reign was, I believe, never questioned. After a conduct so remarkably distinguished by the public acknowledgments of its loyalty and importance to the interest of the three kingdoms, while the memory of it was so recent and unsullied by the least appearance of unpeaceableness or disaffection to the Government, the Dissenters were extremely surprised to find themselves laid under a legal incapacity of rendering any more such services to their country, and ranked with Papists—always dangerous enemies, whose bloody attempts to extirpate the Protestant religion and enslave the nations they had so lately opposed with great bravery and success. Indeed, the unkind treatment they received, which they so little deserved, and which was so unpolitic, tending to weaken the Protestant interest in a country where the Papists are vastly superior in strength and numbers to Protestants of all persuasions, was not to be imputed to the Parliament of Ireland as their contrivance; the clause which enjoins the Sacramental Test having been tacked in England to a bill transmitted from the House of Commons here *for preventing the further growth of Popery*. Scarcely could a clause be contrived more disagreeable to the title and professed design of a Bill, or two things more unnaturally joined together in one law, than enacting what the Papists called great severities against them, and at the same time disabling the Dissenters, the most united body of Protestants in the kingdom, who had so lately maintained a glorious war against their force, headed by King James, and assisted by French auxiliaries, to resist them. But the measures were well enough concerted to answer secret views directly opposite to those which were avowed, and which it is not difficult to guess at, considering that those who had then a chief hand in directing such affairs at the British court, were either bigoted enough to risk the Protestant interest for the service of *High Church*, or corrupt enough to serve the Papists themselves for private gain.—*Nature and Consequences of the Sacramental Test*, pp. 69—71.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTONE (1709—1755),

MINISTER OF TEMPLEPATRICK.

1. *A Sermon* preached at Templepatrick on occasion of the death of Mrs. Dorothea Upton. [Job v. 26.]

2. MS. *Letters* to Wodrow the Historian (1722—1729) among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. T.W.

MR. WILLIAM LIVINGSTONE was a native of Scotland, and is said to have been related to the Rev. John Livingstone of Killinchy (see ch. ii.).

He entered the University of Glasgow in 1694, and studied Theology under the venerable James Wodrow, father of the historian of the Church of Scotland, and the first Divinity Professor in Glasgow after the Revolution. During his college life he made acquaintance with the historian, who was then a student and librarian to the University, and who afterwards became Minister of the parish of Eastwood in the immediate vicinity of the city. This acquaintance ripened into friendship, and in after years produced the series of manuscript letters written from Templepatrick, which are now among our primary sources for the history of the non-Subscription Controversy in Ulster, and are among the treasures of the Wodrow case in the Advocates' Library.

Mr. Livingstone came to Ireland, and was ordained as successor to Dr. James Kirkpatrick (see ch. xviii.) on the 30th of March, 1709. The Rev. John Abernethy of Antrim (ch. xxv.) preached the ordination sermon from John xxi. 17—"Feed my sheep." He

was then a young man of learning and piety: he became in after years an influential and useful minister.

His only printed work is a sermon, copies of which must now be rare, for I have failed in finding one, on the death of Mrs. Upton, the wife of his worthy Elder, Colonel Upton of Templepatrick—a gentleman who stood up for Presbyterianism and orthodoxy at a time when both had many enemies in Ireland. Mr. Livingstone proved an able coadjutor. He went to Scotland with Mr. Samuel Smith, a zealous Elder of Belfast, early in 1723, and spent there three or four months in collecting funds to build a church for the third Congregation of Belfast, a body of orthodox people who withdrew from the ministry of the non-subscribing clergymen, Kirkpatrick and Haliday.* He renewed on this occasion his friendship with Wodrow, and made the acquaintance of many other excellent people in Scotland by whom he was highly esteemed. Various letters of the historian, addressed to Mr. Livingstone, are found in the *Wodrow Correspondence* (see vol. iii.). His friend in reply kept him well informed as to the doings of the non-subscribers, and as to the state of ecclesiastical affairs generally among the Ulster Presbyterians. Twenty-seven of these letters still exist—a complete copy of which, in manuscript, has been kindly given me by Samuel Hughes, Esq., of Liverpool, a descendant of the author, and which for a variety of reasons I value very much.

When delivered from the incubus of the non-Subscription Controversy, the Church had leisure to honour those who in the time of trial had been found faithful. Mr. Livingstone was called to the Moderator's chair at the meeting of Synod held in Dungannon on the 20th of June, 1727; and at the head of his brethren he attended in the public square of the town to take part in the proclamation of King George II.

A few disaffected persons connected with his con-

* The original edifice erected for the third Congregation cost in all £1039; of this, Mr. Livingstone and Mr. Smith collected in Scotland £311 1s. 8d.

gregation, finally withdrew from it, formed themselves into a worshipping body, and gave a call to the Rev. Isaac Patton, who was ordained at Lylehill on the 9th of July, 1746,—the first seceding minister ever ordained in Ireland.

In 1755, at an advanced age, Mr. Livingstone retired from active duty, and died on the 1st of September, 1758. Through his daughter Peggy, who married Francis Scott, Esq., of Dunadry, he has, it is calculated, about one hundred and twenty descendants living at the present time, of whom it is sufficient here to mention his great-great-grandsons, Mr. Hughes of Liverpool and his younger brother, the Rev. Edward Hughes, Minister at Newtownards.*

THE DEATH OF COLONEL UPTON.

As for the manner of Colonel Upton's death, it was most surprising. His health was perfectly good all the last season. He took the rose in his leg about a fortnight before he died; in which nothing appeared extraordinary, only the inflammation proved somewhat obstinate, and proper applications [were] used to prevent suppuration. On the Thursday and Friday he was very easy, and on Saturday so well, that we expected he would next day be on foot. But on sabbath morning early, we found him in a high fever, his head quite out of order, insensible of any pain or sickness, and all the foot and about his ancle in a deadly gangrene. We got none or very few sensible words from him all this day, and he died without any struggling about five o'clock in the afternoon. You will readily imagine that the last circumstance was the most afflicting—I mean his dying insensibly; we thereby lost the benefit of his dying comfort, his dying counsels, and his dying charity. He had made no testament, which was a loss to some of his friends in point of legacy, and perhaps to myself. But he had settled the substance of his affairs when he was last in Dublin by a deed of trust, by which his brother succeeds to his estate—I mean Colonel John. His daughter enjoys a plentiful fortune of about £6000, and there is settled upon myself during life, and the succeeding Presbyterian Ministers of Templepatrick, eight pounds per annum.

The Colonel is now here. He hath been in the army since

* Reid's *History*; Wodrow *Correspondence*; Stephenson's *Historical Essay* on the Parish of Templepatrick; MS. of S. Hughes, Esq.

he was very young, and consequently of the Established Church. He appears to be a person of great candour, declares openly that he hath a fixed principle of moderation, that he is resolved to serve the interests of his country, of the Protestant Religion, and to do what is in his power for the protection, peace, and liberty of Dissenters, as any of his predecessors have done before him. He is extremely civil to myself. He allows me to perform worship in his house, and comes to hear me every Sabbath afternoon. His wife is yet in England. She is a staunch Presbyterian, and a person of great virtue and good conduct. It is well, you see, that matters are no worse, but all that and much more will not make up our loss.

The want of Colonel Upton lies heavy upon my heart, and his death is lamented by men of all distinctions. The Tories and Jacobites say he was a fair and generous adversary, and the Papists express a great concern for him, for you know he protected them from some severities in the House of Commons. You did well in letting my Lord Buchan and Colonel Erskine know of his death. He had a great regard for them, as they well deserve, with some more of the Scotch gentry, Provost Campbell, Campbell of Arkinlas, Colonel Cathcart, Colonel Vance, etc. He loved that nation more than ever I knew in any Englishman.—*Livingstone to Wodrow under date Sept. 3rd, 1725.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

ROBERT McBRIDE (1716—1759),

MINISTER OF BALLYMONEY.

1. *A Sermon* preached at the desire of the Belfast Independent Company of Volunteers, May 28, 1716, being the birthday of King George. *Belfast*, 1716.
2. *The Overtures* transmitted by the General Synod, 1725, set in a fair light : in Answer to Mr. Higinbotham's late print, entitled, "Reasons against the Overtures." Wherein a Letter in MS., subscribed J. Boyse, copied and spread by Mr. Higinbotham, is also considered; the General Synod's Principles and Practice vindicated; Mr. Nevin's exclusion and Mr. Elder's suspension defended; and the non-Confessing Controversy laid open. The whole dedicated to the Presbytery of Route. To which is added a Letter from a worthy Minister in the same Presbytery, known for modesty and moderation [the Rev. Robert Haltridge of Finvoy]. pp. xii. and 72, and 18. 4to. *Belfast*, 1726. A. C. B.

THE author of the above productions was son of the Rev. John McBride, Minister of Belfast (see ch. xiii.). He was born in 1687, while his father was still pastor of the congregation of Clare. He was yet a probationer, when, at the request of the Belfast Independent Company of Volunteers, he preached on the 28th of May, 1716, the anniversary of the birth of George I., a sermon which was subsequently published. On the 26th of September in the same year, he was ordained as Minister of Ballymoney, in succession to the Rev. Hugh Kirkpatrick, father of the author of *Presbyterian Loyalty* (see ch. xviii.). Wodrow's letter of congratulation on his ordination is contained in the *Wodrow Correspondence* (ii. p. 241).

In the non-Subscription Controversy, every man in the Synod had to take a side, and declare what his sentiments were. Mr. McBride was not a partisan, but his sympathies were with orthodoxy, and consequently with the majority. Several times he came into collision with Haliday (see ch. xxxvi.), who with his friends Abernethy and Kirkpatrick formed the great non-subscribing Three. Haliday, at a meeting of the Synod's Committee, complained of the Synod's resolution of 1723, gave some sort of a challenge, and threw out some insinuations about the Confession of Faith. He was taken up sharply by McBride, who undertook both the defence of the Confession, and of subscription to it. He declared his readiness to maintain any article in the Confession or in the government of the Church, provided Mr. Haliday, when he fixeth on any article in said Confession, will at the same time declare the doctrine which he apprehends to be the truth of God, and which in his opinion is opposed to what is commonly received among us—"that as it becomes a fair disputant, he give in his thesis, he will defend as well as dispute against any article of faith commonly received, declaring himself open to conviction, and being willing to manage this dispute in any way that may be thought most expedient for promoting truth, love, and edification of the body of Christ, in this part of the Redeemer's vineyard." It does not appear that Mr. Haliday accepted the offer thus made.

When his neighbour, Mr. Higinbotham of Coleraine, (see ch. xliii.) impugned as he thought unreasonably the Overtures* which the Synod of 1725 transmitted to the Presbyteries, Mr. McBride felt in duty bound to come out in their defence. This led to the publication of his pamphlet, *The Overtures set in a fair light*. To this production he appended a *Letter* written by Mr. Haltridge, the Minister of Finvoy, on the same subject, but which, as it appears to me, is not equal to the portion of the pamphlet written by himself.

* For the substance of these Overtures, see Reid's *History*, vol. iii., ch. xxv., p. 201.

Dr. Reid's judgment on McBride's production is, that "though it is in some respects acute and satisfactory, it cannot be said to exhibit either his temper or his talents as a controversialist in a favourable light." This work had the honour of eliciting no less than three replies from three able non-subscribing writers—Boyse of Dublin (ch. ix.), Elder of Aghadowey (ch. xl.), and Nevin of Downpatrick (see ch. xxxviii.)—a fact which shows the importance attached by contemporaries to the expression of his opinions. Naturally he was not fond of controversy, and did not come out in answer to any of his three antagonists. He had said what he thought it necessary to say, and was content to let the Church and the public decide between them and him. The separation of the Presbytery of Antrim followed soon after, and the main object being thus gained, perhaps he did not think it profitable to pursue the controversy farther.

He lived to a good old age, and died on the 2nd of September, 1759. His ministry "left on the popular mind and memory the impression of a happy, vigorous, and useful life." The following inscription is recorded on a tablet to his memory, erected inside the walls of the old Episcopal Church of Ballymoney:—

"Near this place lies the body of the Reverend Robert McBride, Minister of the Presbyterian Congregation in this parish forty-three years. Truly pious, always cheerful, moderate in his principles, he faithfully discharged the duties of his function, was universally beloved, and lived in friendship with the good men of all persuasions. He died on the second day of September, 1759, in the seventy-third year of his age."

Mr. McBride left two sons, both of whom rose to eminence. David was a surgeon in the Royal Navy. When peace was proclaimed, he went to Edinburgh, and devoted himself with ardour to the study of chemistry. He must have attained a high position in his profession, if it be true as we are informed that he discovered an improved method of manufacturing gunpowder, a new system of extracting tannin from bark, and also that the juice of the West Indian lime

tree is an unfailing remedy for scurvy. His latter days were spent in Dublin. In 1771, the Synod of Ulster appointed him one of the Trustees of the Widow's Fund, and as Counsellor Caldwell was appointed to succeed him by the Synod which met in June, 1779, he must have died during the twelve months immediately preceding.

John, the other son of the minister of Ballymoney, also entered the Navy, and rose to be a Post Captain in the King's Service. While thus engaged, he cut out the *Artoise*, a French man-of-war, then lying in the harbour of Brest, under the guns of the fort, and for this gallant act he was forthwith gazetted by Government as Admiral of the Blue. In 1760, he had the honour to bring over in his ship to England the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, in order that she might marry and become the queen-consort of the young monarch, who had just ascended the throne under the title of George III. He died full of years and honours, leaving one son, John David, who combined in himself the names of his father and of his uncle, and who sustained, though in a different field, the family reputation.

The story of this son may best be told in the words of a paragraph, which appeared in the *Times* so late as January, 1868, and which is as follows:—

“Oxford, Jan. 21, [1868]. The oldest of Oxford residents has been this day taken from us. Mr. John David McBride, D.C.L., F.S.A., Principal of Magdalen Hall, and Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, has gone to his rest, after a long, but almost painless illness, in the 90th year of his age. He was the only son of John Macbride, Admiral of the Blue, and Ursula, eldest daughter of Mr. Wm. Folkes, of Hillington Hall, in the County of Norfolk. He entered the University in the year 1795, at the age of eighteen, and took the B.A. degree in 1799, before the system of “honours” was invented. He became M.A. in 1802, and D.C.L. in 1812, when he succeeded the famous Mr. Justice Blackstone as Assessor of the Chancellor's Court. In 1813, he was appointed by Lord Grenville, at that time Chancellor of the University, to the Principalship of Magdalen, and in the same year he was appointed by the Lord Almoner of the time, to the Readership in Arabic. These two offices he held till his death.

He was most successful in raising the Hall of which he was the Head, to a position surpassing that of many Colleges. He had considerable reputation as a writer, having published a *Diatess-dron*, or *Harmony of the Gospels*, which was at one time largely used as a text-book in the University, and also a work on Mahomedanism. In religious opinion he belonged to the Evangelical school, while in politics he was a moderate Conservative. In private life he was universally respected, while to those who knew him well he was greatly endeared by his kindness, his sincerity, and his warmth of heart."

At a missionary meeting held in Oxford shortly after his death, Canon Champney thus spoke of the late Principal of Magdalen:—

"He had a very keen perception and a very quick apprehension of what was odd and ludicrous. But though I have seen much lightning of his ready wit flashing in that house, it was all sheet lightning, summer lightning. I never saw a flash of forked lightning which could hurt a single soul: nor in the thirty-five years during which I had the pleasure of knowing him, and the great privilege and honour of his friendship, did I ever hear him say a single unkind word of any. . . . His large and loving heart loved all that was good in all, and gave every man ready and generous credit for all the good that was in him: and yet so deeply did he love what he believed to be the truth of God above all, so unflinchingly did he cleave to it, that he never allowed any private or personal feeling to lead him aside from his own unswerving attachment to, and his private or public advocacy of, the great doctrines of the Reformed Church. . . . I can use no other words [than those of the Romish Priest at the grave of Bedell], 'When I die, may my soul be with the soul of John David McBride.'"

It was proposed at the same time to found at Lahore in India, in connection with the Church Missionary Society, an institution for the training of natives for the work of the ministry, to be called the McBride Memorial College; but I am not aware how far this idea has been carried out.

It is remarkable to see four lives, necessarily overlapping each other for many years, connecting the present generation with the generation that suffered under the tyranny of the Stuarts, and still more so to find four men of such mark as the McBrides following

each other in the same family in direct lineal succession.*

The following, which I clip from the *London Mail* of 5th July, 1878, closes for the present the history of the family :—

“DIED.—On the 3rd July, at 38, St. Giles’, Oxford, aged 72, Frances, only child of the late John David McBride, D.C.L., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, and for more than fifty years Principal of Magdalen Hall.”

CONFESSING THE TRUTH.

He is not worthy of being continued a member of an associated body who declines duty merely because it is enjoined him by the Society, with whom he desires to be incorporated.

This proposition appears to me self-evident, and yet I have been told that some of the non-confessing party have said they would not confess there is a God in heaven, if they were required to do so by a Church judicature.

Upon this I would observe, first, that among the principles advanced in their expedients for peace lately sent us, I find this one, that all voluntary subscriptions or declarations of faith (when the non-confessors may incur a popular odium) carry with them all the force and sting of real imposition. This principle, when compared with their refusing to confess the truths of Christianity when they are required to do it, plainly shows that Christ and His truths are never to be confessed while there is one non-confessor in the world; for if you do it voluntarily, you impose upon the non-confessor’s conscience; if you do it when you are required, you betray your Christian liberty; and consequently Christ is never to be confessed.

2nd. As preaching is a declaration and confessing of the truths of God, ought not a Minister, according to them, decline preaching when he is appointed and enjoined to it? And does not their principle put a bar in the way of these who apprehend they ought to preach twice every Lord’s Day, and as often as the edification of their people requires it on other days, if a lazy, indolent Minister in his neighbourhood say, Your diligence will bring me under a popular odium, for I think once a week enough for my people?

3rd. Does not this reasoning and practice destroy all civil

* McBride on the *Overtures*: *Letters* in the *Ballymoney Free Press* of 6th and 27th February, 1868, communicated to me by the author, David Wilson, Esq., Ballymoney; MS. *Minutes* of Synod.

power, as well as Church power? for it is sinful to subject to the authority of men, because fallible—all the judges and courts on earth are fallible men; and consequently I will not obey them even if they command me, what otherwise I might do—their authority destroys my liberty. What confusion will not this introduce into the world? What is said, I think, sufficiently discovers the true design of the Synod, which it was necessary should be perverted before our adversaries could reason against the Overture. They therefore dress this Resolution in all the bloody robes of an Antichristian edict, and it was needful to suppose the Synod (because fallible) to be a set of Antichrist's officers, when in meekness and fear they ask a declaration of the truths of God; it is the same as if they were putting them to the torture, because they will not assent to an abominable error. . . .

Now in answer to this, which contains the force of their whole reasoning, I shall offer—

1st. That there is a great deal of difference between a judicatory of Jesus Christ and a court of Antichrist's officers, as there is a great disparity between a lawful court and a court of usurpers; I owe subjection to the one for conscience' sake, but not to the other. A Society of Protestant Ministers derive their commission from Christ: the Inquisitors derive their power from the Man of sin. Now whereas the Overture only speaks of judicatories of Jesus Christ, they must either own that the Inquisitors of Rome are judicatories of Jesus Christ, or they have said nothing against the Overture.

2nd. There is a disparity in the matter required in these several courts and judicatories of Christ, and the Inquisition, which these gentlemen put in a balance: Christ's courts only require a declaration of God's truth: Antichrist's officers expect a renunciation of them. Here I know it will be excepted, The Inquisitors think they are right, and that what they require to be confessed is truth. To this I answer, that this shows the danger of their leading error, viz., that man's judgment about truth should be the rule of truth, whereas God's word must be the invariable rule of truth, whether the conscience and judgment be desired or not. These gentlemen in their reasoning make no allowance for the judgments being sanctified or defiled, otherwise they would never make the abominations of Rome a parallel to the doctrines of the Gospel.

3rd. Did the Inquisitors only bring Papists, and not Protestants or others, before their Inquisition, there would be more reason for the invidious comparison.

4th. The General Synod have published their rules of association, and the terms of their communion. If any think them sinful, they may let them alone; they are not compelled to be of our sentiments. Solomon has given them an advice on this head (Prov. xxiv. 1), "Be not thou envious against evil men,

neither desire to be with them." We desire to be indulged to follow the dictates of our own judgments, without putting the least hardship on any that differ from us. We do as we desire to be done to. We impose on no denomination of Christians differing from us, neither do we desire to be imposed on. Did we put any censure upon Independents, because they will not be of us, there might be some shadow of reason for the invidious comparison; but when gentlemen declare themselves in practice and principle dissatisfied with the rules of our association, which have been proven not to be sinful, yea, agreeable to the word of God, we only declare them not of the Society: and doing this, we do no injury to our neighbour—no more than the honest farmer does, who builds his fences so well, that his neighbours' beasts cannot trespass upon his ground.—*The Overtures set in a fair Light*, pp. 54—56.

OBEDIENCE TO CHURCH RULERS.

Church officers must apply the rules and precedents of Scripture to the cases that happen in their own times, and, when these fail, must make the best rules their prudence suggests for the Church as a society, that order, peace, and unity, may be preserved, and the great ends of the edification and salvation of their people obtained; still having an eye to their Lord and Master, to whom they are accountable for their stewardship. Without this, every congregation would do what's right in their own eyes. He who would disregard the just and reasonable direction of the faithful Church officers, deserves to be cut off as a troubler of the churches according to the wish of the Apostle. Paul (Tit. i. 7), mentioning the faults of ministers, puts the man in the front who is "self-willed," proud, factious, conceited, etc., who sets up, in a thing wrong, his own judgment and will against ecclesiastical assemblies. Such a disturber of the Church's peace and order ought to be deposed as soon as a man "given to wine," or "filthy lucre," with whom he is joined by the Apostle.—Haltridge's *Appendix* to McBride on the Overtures, p. 16.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

JOHN MALCOME M.A. (1687—1729),

MINISTER AT LOWER KILLEAD AND AT DUNMURRY.

1. *Personal Persuasion no foundation* for Religious Obedience ; or, some friendly reflections on a sermon preached at Belfast, Dec. 9, 1719, by John Abernethy, etc. 18mo., pp. 55. Belfast, 1720. A. C. B.
2. *More Light*, being some remarks on the late *Vindication*, etc. By a true lover of Presbyterian principles. [Supposed to be Mr. Malcome.] Belfast, 1722.
3. The *Dangerous Principles* of the sectarians of the last age, revived again by our modern New Lights. In a letter to all lovers of peace and truth. pp. 15. Belfast, 1726.

JOHN MALCOME was ordained minister of Lower Killead in the county Antrim upon the 5th of December, 1687 ; but he removed to Dunmurry, in the immediate neighbourhood of Belfast, in 1699.

In 1704 he was involved in some petty dispute with his neighbour, Mr. M'Cracken of Lisburn, which it was thought important enough to bring before the Synod. Neither of them was found entirely free from blame in the matter ; so the Synod rebuked the one, admonished the other, and sent them away good friends.

Two *Letters*, one dated Dunmurry, August 29, 1710, written in answer to the challenge of the Rev. John Campbell, and printed in Gowan's *Power of Presbyters*, the other dated Dunmurry, April 21st, 1716, and printed in the preface of Boyse's *Answer to Tisdal*, were not published separately, and therefore are not included by us in the catalogue of his publications given above.

At the time the non-Subscription Controversy broke out, Mr. Malcome was more advanced in years than most of the disputants, and had not had his talents for controversy whetted by contact with the Belfast Society; yet he did not hesitate to enter into the conflict, and to show his sympathy with the orthodox party. His first separate publication was intended as an answer to Abernethy's celebrated sermon on *Personal Persuasion*. This work is celebrated as the first which applied the epithet *New Light* to the opinions of the non-subscribers, a name which has clung to them and to their developments down till our time. The author's strong common sense and knowledge of the Scriptures, convinced him that the results of Abernethy's argumentation were erroneous; but he did not possess the acuteness of a practised disputant, nor was he gifted with the metaphysical power of analyzing sophistry and of tracing up an error to its source.

Kirkpatrick's *Vindication* drew from an anonymous writer, supposed to be Mr. Malcome, another pamphlet on the same subject; and it was followed up by another in 1726, written also against the N.SS. I have not been so fortunate as to meet with either work, but a copy of the latter is said to be preserved in the Advocates' Library.

Mr. Malcome died on the 17th of May, 1729. He was an honest man, anxious to do anything in his power to conserve the cause of orthodoxy and truth; but his previous studies and training were not such as to enable him to cope on equal terms with such experienced divines as Abernethy and Kirkpatrick.*

ORIGIN OF THE EPITHET "NEW LIGHT."

. . . I sincerely acknowledge that it never so much as once entered into my thoughts to trouble the world by appearing in print, till very lately that a set of men, by preaching and printing,

* MS. *Minutes of Synod of Ulster*; Malcome's *Personal Persuasion no Foundation*; Read's *History* and MS. *Catalogue*.

pretend to give *new light* to the world, by putting *personal persuasion* in the room of church government and discipline, and till I could hear of none preparing to oppose such strange doctrines.

By Christ's own appointment, recorded in His word, the government of His church was committed to church guides and rulers, and since that time has continued for near seventeen hundred years, even among all different parties that go under the name of Christians, every one in their own way.

Now since some men have set up for *new light* (whence they have it I cannot tell) that has never appeared in the church of Christ before, I looked upon it, by this short answer to the sermon preached at Belfast, Dec. 9, 1719,

1st. To give some caution to our Christian congregations, that they receive not what is taught them in that sermon or any other to that purpose, without searching the Scriptures daily whether these things be so (Acts xvii. 11).

2nd. That I may awaken some of my reverend brethren to give a more full and learned answer to the same sermon, by which I hope our brethren who have left us may be at length brought to see that conscience has no such supremacy as to thrust out the government and discipline of the Church of Christ.

I shall conclude this preface with a few words, 1st, to my very reverend brother Abernethy and those that fall in with him: Do not condemn your pious and learned fathers, and all the generations of godly ministers and people from this time upward to the Ascension of Christ (who never left on record to posterity such doctrine as now is in vogue among you), till with great deliberation and careful search of the Scriptures you find they were wrong. 2ndly, to the people of all ranks who are professedly Presbyterians: See that you be not carried about with every wind of doctrine by the sleight of men (Eph. iv. 14), and be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines (Heb. xiii. 9).

I wish our brethren who so suddenly have separated from us, would let us know what they would be at, by giving us a scheme of their new doctrine, that we may understand whether they be for any government in the church, or none, whether Presbyterian, or Episcopal, or Independent, or whatever else they please; for by anything I find in the sermon we are discoursing, I profess I know not what they will fix on. It may be that they have something further to publish that will give us more light. . . .
—*Preface to Answer to Abernethy's Sermon.*

CONSCIENCE NOT A SAFE GUIDE.

Nor can I be persuaded how personal persuasion is a foundation for religious obedience to either civil or ecclesiastical rulers, except we would make a bible of our conscience. I always

looked upon the good word of God to be the foundation of all obedience to our superiors (Rom. xiii. 1, Eph. ii. 20, Heb. xiii. 17), and am still of the same mind.

I do not deny but conscience, being enlightened by the word of God, directs a man to his duty, and sometimes reproves him for the neglect of it (Rom. ii. 15). But by no means can it be justly called the foundation of our obedience, or that our obedience is founded on it; unless we fall in with the cursed Socinians, who tell us plainly that human reason is our rule and guide, even in points that directly relate to our eternal salvation; and with them our author plainly agrees while he tells us, "Let every man enjoy the freedom of following the light of his conscience." This doctrine would have been very suitable to the state of our first parents before the fall; but since that, we must be guided by the revealed will of God, which now for many ages has been committed to writing.

As to those that are unregenerate, it cannot be expected that their conscience should be a safe guide (call it *immediate* or what you will), seeing the apostle tells us, (1 Cor. ii. 14,) "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." And those that are regenerate, "they see through a glass darkly," and "know but in part" (1 Cor. xiii. 12). But our author will have "the last decision of a man's understanding to be his immediate rule." Let his understanding be right or wrong, a knowing and ignorant man, a good man, and the worst of men, have all an equal share in our author's favour, which is that his own understanding must be his immediate rule.—*Answer to Abernethy*, pp. 9—11.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE BELFAST SOCIETY (1720—1723).

1. *The Good Old Way*; or a vindication of some important Scripture truths, and all who preach them, from the imputation of novelty. 12mo., pp. 16. *Belfast*, 1720.
2. *Circular Letter*, addressed to all the Dissenting Ministers in Ireland, dated Belfast, December 7th, 1720. [See copy in the "Seven Synods," p. 18.] M. C. D.
3. A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Matthew Clerk, etc., with an answer to the Society's remarks on a pamphlet lately published, entitled *A Letter from the Country to a Friend in Belfast*, etc. 12mo., pp. 30. *Belfast*, 1723. A. C. B.

THE history of this Association of Ministers has been already given (see ch. xviii., extract 1). Two evil results followed from their union and speculative discussions. The Society proved to be a seed-plot of error, from which erroneous principles were carried out and disseminated over the church; and secondly, the studies and the controversial readiness which membership in the Society required, made men like Abernethy and Kirkpatrick more than a match for their opponents, who were called upon suddenly to encounter the New-Light opinions without any special preparation. In the course of the controversy various pamphlets were published in the name of the Society, which, being joint productions, in regard to which it would be impossible to assign his own to each individual writer, we prefer to class under their associated name.

When it became evident from Abernethy's sermon on *Personal Persuasion* (ch. xxv.), and from the conference held in the sub-Synod of Belfast in January,

1720, that some opinions different from those of their brethren were held by the members of the Society, Mr. Malcome of Dunmurry, in his *Friendly Reflections* (ch. xxviii., No. 1), called upon them publicly to produce "a scheme of their new doctrine." To this invitation the Society responded in the June of that year by publishing a letter to Mr. Malcome, in which they gave an account of the origin of that Society, and of their opinions on a variety of matters, which for several years after formed the main subject of the non-Subscription Controversy. This work, designated by them *The Good Old Way*, was designed to show that their peculiar views upon private judgment, the rights of conscience, the terms of communion, and the extent of church power, were no novelties, but of old standing in the Church.

Finding that this pamphlet failed to allay the suspicions of the religious public, the Society towards the close of the same year drew up a *Circular Letter*, a copy of which was sent to every presbytery in Ireland, in which they gave a history of the origin and objects of their now celebrated Society, and answered the charges which public rumour laid at their door. In this production they suggest as expedients for restoring peace, not the dissolution of the Society, which they strongly deprecate, but the prosecution of all who can be proved to hold error, fervent charity towards every body against whom no proof sufficient to warrant conviction can be produced, and a brotherly conference to be held with themselves in order to devise measures for preventing offence. Their settled idea was, that they had a right to avow and to publicly maintain any doctrine whatever which they were persuaded was true, in open disregard of the professed creed of the Church, the opinions of their brethren, and of all consequences, while their brethren were all this while under moral obligation not to call their doctrines in question, to treat themselves with the greatest charity and tenderness, to retain them in church communion, and to do all in

their power to keep the laity from suspecting them of heresy and from withdrawing from their congregations.

Though the individual members were in the meantime busy enough, the Society itself in its corporate capacity did not appear again in the field of authorship till 1722. The somewhat rough assault made upon them by Mr. Clerk of Kilrea, in his *Letter from the Country, to a Friend in Belfast, with respect to the Belfast Society*, which appeared in June of that year, roused their indignation. In the following October they addressed to him a *Letter*, signed by six of their members, with Abernethy at their head, remonstrating with him for what they called the unjust charges he had brought against them, and requiring him to repent and to make public reparation for the wrong he had done to his brethren and the scandal he had given the church. Some eight or nine months afterwards Mr. Clerk responded, and the two letters—the Society's to him, and his answer to the Society—were published in one pamphlet, about May, 1723. Of this pamphlet the Society's letter occupies pages 3 to 6 inclusive, and Mr. Clerk's answer from the 7th to the 29th page. The latter will be noticed under the name of the author; of the former we present an extract, in which they state their complaint against Mr. Clerk.*

THE SOCIETY'S SUGGESTIONS FOR PEACE.

Give us leave, our much-honoured and worthy brethren, to conclude this letter with an humble proposal of some specific expedients for reviving and cherishing brotherly love and concord amongst the ministers and people of our persuasion. If any one can be charged with unsoundness in the faith or an immoral life and conversation unbecoming his sacred character, let an accusation be brought against him before two or three witnesses, let the rules of the Gospel be observed, and of our own constitution: let not the decisions of fallible men invade the room of the sacred oracles. Let us all cheerfully acquiesce in the infallible judgment of the only Supreme Judge of all the religious contro-

* Belfast Society's Pamphlets; Reid's *History* and MS. *Catalogue*.

versies, the Spirit of God speaking in the Holy Scriptures. If any one upon an impartial trial can be thus justly convicted, let the world know it, let him patiently submit. If he cannot be convicted in the manner the gospel prescribes, let him be reputed innocent : both justice and charity give him a right to demand it. Let not those who shall not think fit to put the matters of offence they complain of into this gospel method of inquiry, take an unwarrantable liberty of judging and censuring their brethren without proof. Let them discover that fervent charity which is the "bond of perfectness," which "suffereth long and is kind," etc. Let us all endeavour to discourage the insolent attacks which a lying calumnious spirit is always disposed to make upon our good name ; and wherein there may be any diversity of sentiments amongst us, let us carefully collect the concessions made on all hands, that we may as far as possible lessen and never widen debates among brethren. By this Christian spirit we shall put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, disappoint our malicious foes (who would triumph in nothing so much as in our unnatural divisions), and demonstrate to all the world that we are keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.—*Letter to the Ministers in the "Seven Synods,"* p. 31.

COMPLAINTS OF THE SOCIETY.

We have been so long silent under all the grievous reflections you were pleased to cast upon us, that we trust even you will not accuse this application to yourself of precipitancy nor call it a passionate resentment of a recent injury : but at last, seeing our characters abused without any offer of a reparation, and thereby great scandal given to many weak Christians, we think ourselves obliged to demand of you a reasonable and brotherly satisfaction for the wrong, which we apprehend you have done us, in order to preserve our reputation, and thereby our usefulness in the ministry, which conscience requires us to care for, however little it is regarded by you. Some particulars we complain of in your pamphlet are as follows :—

First, in the 8th page, you represent us as alienated from Presbytery and reconciled to episcopacy, and that we wanted only bishoprics or other benefices to make us conform. At the same time you know we professed (as we still continue to profess) ourselves Nonconformists in principle. This therefore is a charge of gross insincerity, which you can never make good, and you pretend to found it upon a paper presented to the Synod, and by them transmitted to the Presbyteries in the year 1715. No such inference can be fairly drawn from that paper, and what you charge is a gross calumny on its authors ; but you very falsely assert it was emitted by the Society, and it is a wonder if you could believe yourself in saying so, having

sufficient means of knowing the contrary even from the minutes of Synod.

Secondly, in the 14th page, you introduce us as saying in our defence, we will subscribe the Bible, and then for us to put such a meaning on that subscription as no man of common sense or honesty could possibly have—viz., that we would write our names in our Bible to signify that they are our property. With what justice or candour could you charge us with such trifling or dissimulation? And yet really the construction we have put on the passage referred to is the most favourable it will bear; for if that be not your sense, then you must mean that to subscribe the Bible as a test of truth does not distinguish the subscriber from an Atheist or Mahometan.

Thirdly, in the 15th page, you justify and encourage all the calumny that ever has been or can possibly be thrown on non-subscribers, with respect to their principles; for you say people are at liberty to call us as their fancy leads them.

Fourthly, in page 18, you set down a principle of ours, but do not quote it fairly out of the *Good Old Way* and the *Vindication*; and having taken what liberty you please, in misrepresenting it, you say it makes Popery as much the cause of God as the Reformation. In the meantime the principle, as set down by us, is an essential principle of the Reformation: and if in that light, and without wire-drawing in order to reproach us, you bring your charge against it, you calumniate Protestantism itself.

Fifthly, in page 29, you say we call our subscribing brethren the greatest rebels against God ever the earth beheld, and at the same time that we communicate with such, and therefore are as bad, if not worse.—*Letter to Clerk*, pp. 3—5.

CHAPTER XXX.

SAMUEL DUNLOP (1708—1722),

MINISTER AT ATHLONE.

*An Account of the Mind of the Synod at Belfast ; in a short
 reply to Mr. Dugud's remarks upon their declaration. pp. 15.
 Belfast, 1721. A. C. B.*

SAMUEL DUNLOP was a native of Dervock, in the County Antrim, and was licensed by the Presbytery of Coleraine in 1706. The Synod at that time was endeavouring to establish a congregation in the town of Athlone, and in 1705 Major Thomas Handcock had promised in the name of the people £30 per annum, a farm of twenty-five acres free of rent, and free board and lodging while he would remain unmarried, to any young minister who could be induced to settle among them. Dunlop responded to the offer, and was ordained at Athlone by the Presbytery of Monaghan on the 29th of April, 1708.

He was a man of orthodox sentiments, but his rashness and impetuosity occasionally exposed him to trouble. Happening to be in London at the time of the Salters-Hall debates, he formed the opinion from what he saw of Samuel Haliday, soon afterwards chosen to succeed John McBride in the first congregation of Belfast, that he was not only an Arian but an enemy of all government in the Church ; and after Haliday was chosen, he did not hesitate to write to a friend near Belfast, that such was the opinion he had formed. The fact was, that Haliday sympathized

with the non-subscribers, who were generally suspected of Arianism, but beyond this he had neither said nor done anything to commit himself or even to justify Dunlop in preferring such an accusation. When the case came before Synod in 1720, Mr. Dunlop could not prove his charge, and Mr. Haliday had no difficulty in establishing his innocence. The result was, that Haliday was acquitted, and Dunlop rebuked for "his rash and imprudent behaviour in this affair."

The circumstances under which he published his pamphlet—*An account of the Mind of the Synod*—are described by Dr. Reid.* He reiterates in this tract, in an offensive form, his old charge that the non-subscribers were Arians, and that their refusal to subscribe the Confession was only an attempt to hide their heresy from the public view—a charge which, however well-founded it might have been twenty or thirty years afterwards, was premature at the time it was made. The most remarkable effect of this tract was, that it called forth from the able pen of Dr. Kirkpatrick the work that was quoted for years afterwards as Dr. Victor Ferguson's *Vindication*. (See ch. xviii.)

Dunlop in 1722 demitted the charge of Athlone from inadequate support. His subsequent history cannot be traced.†

THE NON-SUBSCRIBERS CHARGED WITH ARIANISM.

Also here in Ireland it is found, that there are gentlemen and commonalty so rooted and grounded in the principles of the Christian Reformed religion, that they are not now to be imposed upon by any set of men bringing in new light, to the overturning their Confession of Faith and Presbyterian Constitution. And as for those who turn aside from what they formerly professed themselves to be, they will let them know they can no longer own them as sound and faithful Ministers; and this is actually done in several places, where sound Presbyterians are concerned,

* *History*, ch. xxv., vol. iii., p. 145.

† MS. *Minutes* of Synod; Reid's *History*.

who now tell their New-Lights that when they called them to be their Ministers, they professed themselves sound Presbyterians by owning the Confession of Faith, promising to adhere to it. They, viz., the people, continue what they were, and see no reason to change and to follow any New-Light men, who have not shown the particular faults in the Confession and Presbyterian Constitution or Government, nor made known what they themselves would be at; only they have declined the Westminster Confession and Presbyterian Constitution in particular. Nor have they made known to what Christian Church they belong, nor is it to be thought that any constitute Church can join with and entertain as constituent members such as reject their confessions and authority.

How far the Nons are here in concert with those of their minds abroad in other countries, or with the several sorts of these in England and Ireland, whether Arians, Socinians, Clarkists, Freethinkers, Enthusiasts, Personal Persuasionists, and Libertines, is best known to themselves; only they all agree in casting off Confessions, and any Church government now known in Europe, and particularly that of Presbyterians. Now, as it is expected, no Presbyterian who is willing to free himself from being suspected of unsoundness (considering as matters now stand in this critical time wherein errors are so openly coming in), and would not be guilty of opening a door for all errors to come in unto the Church and overturning the Reformed religion, will persist in non-subscribing. But if they do, they cannot expect that Synod, or Presbyterians, can with their own safety and good conscience join with and support them, who have expressly declared in open Synod the change of their mind as to the Confession of Faith and subjection to the authority of the Synod, and protested against subscribing, actually refusing to subscribe either the Confession or the Declaration, to which they seemed to agree in the Conference in the Synod, before they came to a vote. This leaves such jealous impressions on the minds of sound orthodox Presbyterians, that nothing less than subscription will remove it from either Ministers or thinking people.

For it is now come to this, Subscription, or no Subscription: Confession, or no Confession: Presbytery, or no Presbytery: Christ being properly God, or only a created sub-God.

For anything I know, there is none of the Subscribers either in England or Ireland, that are charged with unsoundness and the errors of this time: on the other hand, many of the Nons are actually unsound, and generally all suspected, and continue so, save some particular persons that have given some Declaration of their not being Arians or Socinians. But their testimonies are negatives.

Upon the whole, there is no cause or reason of charging the subscribing body of the Synod with any unsoundness in their

doctrine, worship, or government, seeing they are now what they have all along been.

As for non-subscribers, they are to vindicate themselves as they think fit ; for others are not accountable for them, seeing they are not of them, but have gone out from them, having declared against their confession and constitution : and do actually join the non-subscribing party, whose principles and practices, as such, are inconsistent with, and opposite to, those of sound orthodox Presbyterians. If the author has been injurious to any, upon conviction, he shall do justice.—*Account of the Mind of the Synod*, pp. 12—15.

CHAPTER XXXI.

GILBERT KENNEDY (1703—1745),

MINISTER OF TULLYLISH.

1. *New Light set in a Clear Light.* [Anonymous.] pp. [22. *Belfast*, 1721-2.
2. *A Defence of the Principles and Conduct of the Reverend General Synod of Ulster*; being an Answer to a Pamphlet published by the Rev. Mr. Samuel Haliday, containing his *Reasons* against the imposition of Subscription unto the Westminster Confession of Faith, or any such human tests of orthodoxy. 4to. pp. 8, 30, and 125. *Belfast*, 1724.
M. C. D.
3. *A Daily Directory enlarged.* 18mo. pp. 31. *Belfast*, 1727.
A. C. B.

THE father of the subject of the present sketch was the Rev. Gilbert Kennedy, a younger son of Colonel Gilbert Kennedy of Ardmillan, in Ayrshire, and nephew of John, sixth Earl of Cassilis, one of the Scottish noblemen appointed to act as lay-assessors at the Westminster Assembly. He had been Minister of Girvan in Scotland, but owing to the persecution fled and took refuge in Ireland, where he became Minister of Dundonald about the year 1670. He is mentioned by Adair (ch. iv.) as one of the Ministers who were for their nonconformity harassed by Roger Boyle, successor of Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down. "He preached," says a modern writer, "in the glens near Comber in the starlight: and as soldiers were quartered in many of the houses, the people had to leave home after the soldiers were asleep, and return before they were up next morning." The writer adds, that "the

people carried their children from Lisburn and all the surrounding country, to be baptized of him. He was buried in the aisle of Dundonald Church, and his name is inscribed on his tomb.* He died on the 6th of February, 1688.

The son of the Minister of Dundonald, called after the name of his father, was ordained by the Presbytery of Armagh on the 23rd of March, 1703, as Minister of Donacloney and Tullylish. Very little of his personal history is now known. He acted as Moderator of the Synod of Ulster at its meeting in Belfast, 21st of June, 1720, the year when the non-Subscription Controversy broke out, and when retiring from office in the year after he preached the Synodical sermon from Prov. xi. 30. It was the bold avowal of their principles by the Belfast Society, which forced him, in common with not a few others, to address the public through the press. In 1722, there appeared a small anonymous pamphlet, entitled *New Light set in a clear light*, intended as a reply to some of the principles laid down in Abernethy's *Personal Persuasion*, and in Kirkpatrick's *Vindication*. The authorship is by no means certain, but it is assigned to Kennedy by one who is very competent to judge.†

From a letter of Mr. Kennedy, addressed to Wodrow, it is known that a sermon which he preached during the sittings of the General Synod at Dungannon in June, 1723, on the text, "See that ye love one another," gave great offence to the N.S.S.—a fact which seems strange enough if the sermon was a fair and adequate reflection of the text. It "was censured," says he, "by them in the Synod as railing. They never so much as spoke to me, or told me that they were offended; but from the notes taken from my mouth, by one Mr. Simson [the Minister of Dundalk], they accused me and threatened to print it, without allowing the liberty to review and consider what I had said; to such a height matters are now come. What the event will

* See *Christian Unitarian* for 1866, p. 359. *Note*.

† Reid, *History*, vol. iii., p. 147. *Note*.

be, I know not; but that God rules in the raging of the sea, and stilleth the noise of its waves, and the tumults of the people.”* Wodrow, in writing to Mr. Warden of Gargunnoch, calls Kennedy “our old disciple;” from which it may be inferred that they were all fellow-students at Glasgow, and this accounts sufficiently for the friendship and correspondence that they subsequently maintained.

In 1724, appeared a bulky treatise, with the title, *A Defence of the Principles and Conduct of the General Synod of Ulster*, written in reply to Haliday’s *Reasons against Imposition of Subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith* (see ch. xxxvi.). It appears that this was the joint-stock production of a number of Ministers; but Kennedy was the most prominent, and his name alone appears on the title page. Wodrow’s judgment on the writer, after reading the production, is: “He is a little keen, but the subject needs it, and is very large.”† Owing to the fact that it takes up Haliday’s *Reasons*, and answers them seriatim, the book, notwithstanding its keenness, seems to me a little heavy, and although one can scarcely deny that some good points are made occasionally, the defence is not so plausible and effective as the attack.

After the non-Subscription Controversy had died out, Mr. Kennedy published a little work on practical religion, entitled “*A Daily Directory, enlarged.*” It may be fairly inferred from the epithet attached that the *Daily Directory* had existed before, and that Mr. Kennedy had made some additions thereto. But there is no direct statement to that effect, and in consequence it passed for a long time as if it were written by Kennedy himself, and in Dr. Reid’s manuscript Catalogue it is entered under his name. If he were really the author, the work would be singular among the productions of the time in Ulster, as being neither a sermon nor a polemical pamphlet. But the work

* Wodrow *Correspondence*, vol. iii., p. 81.

† *Correspondence*, vol. iii., p. 156.

carries with it internal evidence of a culture and of a spirit, which were becoming very rare among the ministry, and which make me very sceptical as to its authorship. It professes to suggest suitable devotional thoughts to the Christian, from the time that he wakes in the morning till he returns to rest, and the design of it is to show that his daily life should throughout be pervaded with religion. It manifests deep knowledge of the Scriptures and of human nature, combined with an amount of Christian experience very rare at any time. It is written in an agreeable style, and is full of quaint allusions and comparisons, some of which strike the imagination and fasten on the memory ; as, for instance, when he says, "Gentle reprehensions make deepest impressions, like snow that falls soft, and yet soaks and penetrates to the root."

The *Daily Directory* has been several times reprinted. The *fourth* edition, issued at Edinburgh, 1794, is in my possession. It is printed at the end of a work entitled *Divine Meditations*, written in the same quaint and pleasant style, as if by the same author. Prefixed is an "Epistle to the Publisher of the *second* edition," subscribed by "Gab. Wilson, Maxton, January 15, 1737," and the whole is entitled *Divine Meditations upon several occasions, with a Daily Directory, by a Person of Honour*. Gabriel Wilson, the editor of the second edition, regards the *Meditations* and the *Directory* to be written by the same person, and he speaks of the author thus :

"If I knew the author had written aught besides (and great pity if he has not), I would much prize it for the sake of this performance—a performance that speaks the tender and devout Christian, the judicious divine, mighty in the Scriptures, the accomplished fine gentleman ; that speaks a liberal education happily improved, an extensive knowledge of the world, and an uncommon genius ! Solomon, the wisest of Adam's children, had no son for wisdom or religion comparable with this author."

It would afford me pleasure to believe that any Presbyterian Minister of Ireland was fairly entitled to this honest praise. But the question still returns,

was Gilbert Kennedy the author of the *Daily Directory*? It looks as if he were, when what professes to be the second edition is dated in 1737, that is, ten years after Kennedy's edition appeared. But may the explanation not be, that he republished an obscure edition of a work already published by some other person? The title, *Daily Directory enlarged*, suggests something like this, but Kennedy ought to have been more explicit. In the *Broadmead Records* (Note 75, p. 273), I find it stated that a work entitled *Divine Meditations* was published in 1668 by Sir William Waller, a Presbyterian General of the Commonwealth time. Is it not possible that he may have been the author of the *Daily Directory*? This is a literary question, which still requires and deserves elucidation.*

In his MS. *Catalogue*, Dr. Reid ascribes to Gilbert Kennedy the work which closed the non-Subscription Controversy, entitled *The Narrative of the non-Subscribers examined*, published in 1731; but as I do not know on what authority he has done so, and as he has stated in his *History*,† that he "has not been able to ascertain the name of the author," I prefer to treat it as an anonymous production.

Mr. K. married Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. George Lang, of Newry, a lady who was well instructed in the Scriptures; and by her became the father of four sons and three daughters. His daughter Annabella married the Rev. George Cherry of Clare (ch. lvii.); Fanny married the Rev. James Moody of Magherally, afterwards of Newry (ch. lix.); and Mary became wife of the Rev. Thomas Kennedy of Mourne, whose eldest daughter again married the Rev. Samuel Barber of Rathfriland.

Mr. Kennedy's children did not adopt his principles. His son-in-law, the Rev. George Cherry, who will afterwards claim our attention, was one of the non-

* Since writing the above, I observe that Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual* assigns both the *Directory* and the *Meditations* to Sir William Waller, and names 1680 as the original date of publication.

† See ch. xxvi., Note 13.

Evangelical Ministers of the Synod of Ulster; and his son and namesake, who afterwards became Minister of the second Congregation of Belfast, was a distinguished member of that New-Light school, which his father throughout his life had laboured to oppose.

Gilbert Kennedy of Tullylish, along with Mastertown of Belfast (ch. xxxv.), and Hemphill of Castleblayney (ch. xxxiv.), were perhaps the most prominent men in the orthodox majority of the Synod; but not having educated themselves in such a training school as was furnished by the Belfast Society, they were not equal in controversial skill and literary power to their three great opponents, Abernethy, Kirkpatrick, and Haliday.

Mr. Kennedy died on the 8th of July, 1745.* A sister of his in 1720 married the Rev. William Tennent, an Episcopal Minister who, after emigrating to America, joined the Presbyterian Church, founded the Log College, and became father of the great ecclesiastical family of Tennent, that did so much to spread and strengthen Presbyterianism on the other side of the Atlantic.†

WHY IMPOSE SUBSCRIPTION TO THE CONFESSION?

FIRST ARGUMENT.—Jesus Christ has made no law, requiring an assent unto any such human composure as the Westminster Confession is; for if there had been any such, it would have been quoted long ago, but no precept is so much as pretended by any.

ANSWER.—The Gospel law requires that the ministry be committed unto faithful men (2 Tim. ii. 2): that in doctrine ministers show uncorruptness (Tit. ii. 7): that by sound doctrine they exhort and convince (Tit. i. 9): that they speak the things which become sound doctrine (Tit. ii. 1): that a steward in the house of God be found faithful (1 Cor. iv. 2): that they hold fast the faithful word (Tit. i. 9): and lay hands suddenly on no man (1 Tim. v. 22).

Now if this faithfulness, uncorruptness, soundness in principles

* Reid's *History* and MS. *Catalogue*; *Minutes* of Synod of Ulster; Kennedy's *Defence*.

† Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. iii., p. 23.

and words, and steadfast adherence unto the truth, be Gospel qualifications required by the express laws of the King of the Church, in all persons that are admitted unto the ministry; then, none are to be admitted without some plain and positive proof that they have these, and such an one as is fully satisfactory to the ordainers as the author confesses. And all this under this awful certification and penalty, that if they find that he is void of such Gospel qualifications as are named, or actually refuses to give such satisfactory evidences as the ordainers think necessary to clear their judgments; in that case they cannot and dare not proceed, but must refuse ministerial communion with such an one. For if they did otherwise, they should disobey the express instructions Christ has left them how to behave in His house, in taking one of whose soundness they have not, and cannot get, a satisfactory proof.

There may arise a difference between one entering into the ministry, and a Presbytery or Synod, concerning a satisfactory evidence, or what degree of it is necessary in this case. The one party may desire and demand admission into the holy ministry according to the method used in one Reformed Church. They on the other hand think the method used in another better, because it gives them more satisfaction than the other proposed by him.

One party thinks he gives such evidences as may and ought to be fully satisfactory to them, and that they ought to require no more of him; and if they do oblige him to give more, or other evidences of his qualifications, than he thinks needful, in that case they impose upon his conscience in forcing him to give more than he ought to give, and will complain that they are not satisfied when they ought to be so.

The judicatory, on the other hand, think it unlawful to commit the Gospel to any man who does not give such evidences as are fully satisfactory to their consciences, that they demand no more than to them appears necessary. And if the candidate will force them to ordain him, without answering the demands of their consciences, he imposes upon them, and makes them to do a thing doubtingly, which they ought to do with certainty. . . .

In short, the whole difference lands at last in the unalienable right of private judgment and conscience, that is pleaded on both sides, and which neither of the two can yield without imposition; and yet one must yield, or there can be no communion, and no yielding without imposition; *they* must either come down to him and take less, or *he* come up to them and give more.

It is plain enough to me, that neither ought to be; but in such a case a candidate and that Christian society ought to part; for if he cannot satisfy the consciences of his ordainers, and they and he cannot agree about the terms and the degree

of evidence necessary, they cannot join, and it is persecution if they be forced. . . .

It remains that I give the reader the second branch of the answer, which is this, that an assent to the *Westminster Confession* is one of the most satisfactory evidences to us of one's soundness in the faith; for by a judicious assent to an excellent abridgment of Christian doctrine, we testify our soundness, incorruptness, steadfastness in the faithful word (Tit. i. 9); and that we cleave to the sound exposition of it. . . . For my part, I cannot except against any Confession, merely because it is large, for the more copious and full it is (provided all be agreeable to the Scriptures), the more satisfactory is the evidence, and the clearer the test of one's orthodoxy in the faith. For he shows his soundness in more important and [in] lesser truths, both which he is to teach.—*Defence of the Synod*, pp. 15–18.

MORNING DEVOTIONS.

Every day is a life in a little, in the account whereof we may reckon our growth from the womb of the morning; our growth from thence to noon, when we are as the sun in his strength; after which, like a shadow that declineth, we hasten to the evening of our age, and so to our sunset, when we come to close our eyes in sleep—the image and representative of death. Our whole life is but this tale of a day told over and over again. I would therefore so spend every day as if it were all the days I had to live: and in the pursuance of this resolution I would by the assistance of Divine grace endeavour to observe this following daily practice:—

1. I would awake with God as early as I could. David hath a high expression for this: “In the morning shall my prayer prevent Thee” (Psalm lxxxviii. 13). Prayer is the key to open the morning, the firstfruits of thoughts and lips. Whensoever I awake, I would willingly have my mouth prevent mine eyes, and open first to show forth His praise, that so God may awake for me, and make the habitation of my righteousness prosperous. To this end I would be careful to lie down the night before in peace with God, who hath promised that His commandment shall keep me when I sleep, and talk with me when I awake; otherwise I may justly fear that those corruptions that bid me last Good Night, may be ready to bid me first Good Morrow.

2. I would rise as early as I could, that course being most profitable both for soul, body, and estate. In summer time I would be up by five, in winter by six, or soon after, as my health would permit. However, by God's grace, it should be mine endeavour to preserve my bed and heart undefiled, and to yield as little as might be to the folding of hands, that sleep steal not too much of my time.

3. I would dress myself as soon as I could, with a special care, while I was dressing my body, not to neglect the adorning

of my soul, but to be sure to keep that in a graceful fashion ; in order whereunto I would endeavour, in that time, to call to mind by some ejaculatory meditations the benefit of putting on the Lord Jesus, the advantage of being furnished with spiritual weapons—the armour of light and of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, and the bravery of wearing a meek and quiet spirit, which in the sight of God Himself is of great price.

4. I would pray with my wife, and together with the confession of our sins, acknowledge the mercy of God to us both, in bringing us together, and in conjoining not only our hands by His ordinance, but our hearts and affections by the sacred bond of His love, and implore the sanctification of our condition, that this happy union might continue, without any further provocations between us than to love and to good works, or other contentions than that between the vine and the olive, which of us should bring forth the most fruit.—*Daily Directory*, pp. 4—6.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THOMAS MAQUAY (1717—1729),

MINISTER AT DUBLIN (PLUNKET STREET).

A Sermon occasioned by the death of the late Mr. Alexander Sinclair, preached at Plunket Street, April 8, 1722. [Acts xx. 17—27.] pp. 24. *Dublin*, 1722.

THOMAS MAQUAY was a native of the city of Dublin, and was born in 1694. He was educated under the care of the Presbytery of Dublin, and was ordained as colleague of Mr. Sinclair, on the 7th November, 1717, the pastor of the congregation of Plunket Street—a congregation originally known as Bull Alley, and which in the year 1773 merged in that of Usher's Quay.

His only published work is the Funeral Sermon for Mr. Sinclair, the senior pastor of the congregation, which is a production so rare, that I have failed in discovering a copy. This Mr. Sinclair was a native of Belfast. He became minister of Waterford in 1686, and in Boyse's *Works* there is a letter of his detailing the treatment which he received, when as a minister he settled in that city. After the Revolution he became minister of Bull Alley; and in 1704 he occupied the position of Moderator of the Synod of Ulster. It is said that the sub-Synod of Belfast censured him for maintaining the identity of the deacon and the ruling elder, of which censure he complained to the General Synod in 1710. On his dying, the 6th April, 1722, Mr. Maquay preached his funeral sermon.

Maquay himself did not long survive. He died in

the prime of life, on the 21st of April, 1729. Dr. Leland, who preached his funeral sermon, and afterwards married his widow, bears testimony to the character of the deceased in the following words:—

“His flock were instructed and affected with his preaching, edified by his example, and engaged by his conversation. In his sermons he seldom meddled with things of doubtful disputation. His great end in preaching was to promote the edification of his hearers, and reform their lives. His zeal was accompanied with an extensive charity; and no lesser differences prevented him from having a hearty affection and esteem for all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.”*

* *Minutes of Synod of Ulster*; Armstrong's *Sketches of Dublin Ministers*; Reid's *MS. Catalogue*.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

MATTHEW CLERK (1697—1729),

MINISTER AT KILREA.

1. *A Letter from the Country to a Friend in Belfast*, with respect to the Belfast Society. pp. 24. [*Belfast*, with the wrong date, 1712, on the title,] 1722. A. L. E.

2. A Letter from the the Belfast Society to the Reverend Mr. Matthew Clerk, with an *Answer to the Society's Remarks on a Pamphlet* lately published, entitled *A Letter from the Country to a Friend in Belfast*, etc. pp. 30, 12mo. [*Belfast*,] 1723.

M. C. D.

THE birth-year of MATTHEW CLERK extends so far back as 1659. He was in Derry at the siege, and received a wound on the temple from a bullet, which never thoroughly healed, and over which he wore a black patch as long as he lived. After the siege, and when he was over thirty years of age, he studied for the ministry, and having been licensed by the Presbytery of Route in 1697, he was that same year ordained as Minister of Kilrea and Boveedy in the Co. Londonderry.

During his ministry in Ireland, he gave ample evidence of being, what his American biographer says he was during his ministry in New England, "sound in the faith, decided, and independent in his sentiments, and fearless in defence of what he judged to be correct in doctrine or in practice."

The Synod of Ulster in 1721, with the view of allaying popular suspicions as to the orthodoxy of

some of its members, agreed to permit such of the Ministers and Elders as chose, to subscribe the Confession of Faith, and then, a day or two after, passed what is called a Charitable Declaration, recommending the people to "entertain no jealousies or ill opinions concerning any of their Ministers merely on account of their not subscribing at this time, but *that they would look upon this as a matter wherein Christians and Ministers are to exercise forbearance towards one another.*" The *Minutes of Synod* go on to state, "Mr. Matthew Clerk dissented from this vote, and desired that his dissent might be entered into the records of this Synod." He had voluntarily subscribed the Confession; he might well dissent from the Charitable Declaration. If subscription and non-subscription were, as the Synod said, matters in regard to which Ministers in the one body were to exercise mutual forbearance, every one now would be at a loss to know why they troubled themselves so much about the matter. Though in their temporizing policy they were over-persuaded to say so, they did not believe it in their hearts, as is shown by the fact that they wrangled over the subject for seven years, and then expelled the N.S.S. at last. Matthew Clerk at least did not make himself responsible for the Charitable Declaration. The honest old soldier was bold for what he believed to be true, and though he stood alone, scorned any compromise with error. His is one of the few cases, where the one man was right, and a whole Synod in the wrong.

The two Letters which he published on the non-Subscription Controversy are the productions of a man, certainly of no great culture, but of orthodox sentiment, who feels confident that he knows the truth, and is not afraid to say what he believes. He was the first man in that Controversy, who boldly put his name on the title-page of his pamphlets, and made himself responsible to the world for his published statements. "He was," says Dr. Reid, "an acute and spirited, though not a graceful or experienced disputant.

He aimed some vigorous and well-directed attacks at the strongest points of the Society's scheme, and employed against them the *argumentum ad hominem* with considerable dexterity and success, though not in all cases in a becoming spirit." He certainly was a most uncompromising antagonist, and in his own rough and slashing way fought against the trained and skilful fencers of the Belfast Society with a courage which never quailed.

In 1722, when the Synod once more exhorted the people, who in dread of error and heresy were beginning to show symptoms of disaffection to the N.S. Ministers, to adhere to their pastors so far as their conscience allowed them, Mr. Clerk protested once more against the spirit of compromise which led the orthodox majority to give a second time this unprincipled advice. But this time he did not stand alone. He was joined by the Rev. John Stirling of Ballykelly, and subsequently by the Rev. Henry Neil of Ballyrashane. The vigorous protest, which they signed and had entered on the *Minutes*, was drawn up by Mr. Stirling; and it proves that they were men who were actuated by principle rather than by expediency, and that they were thoroughly aware of the great interests at stake.

Clerk's *Letter from the Country*, published in June, 1722, gave great offence to N.S. Ministers in the Synod, and six of their number in the October following wrote him a letter (see ch. xxix., No. 3), to which he did not choose to respond till a month before the Synodical meeting in Dungannon, on the 18th of June, 1723. Instead of retracting or apologizing for his statements, he repeated them in a still more vigorous form than at first. His antagonists libelled him before the Route Presbytery, and after a conflict between him and them at two meetings, the Presbytery referred the affair to the Synod. "I suppose you have seen his pamphlet which they complain of," says Livingstone, writing from Templepatrick, 13th of June, 1723, to Wodrow; "and Mr. Smith [Elder of the Third Congregation of Belfast (see ch. xxvi.)] will send you his

letter lately printed, by which you will have another snatch of his temper and talents, and see how closely he takes the non-subscribers by the head. I don't think his reasoning faculty is despicable, but I wish it were equal to his diverting one, for I think he is one of the most comical old fellows that ever was. He insists positively that the N.S.S. shall be obliged to declare their submission to our Presbyteries and Synods as judicatures of Jesus Christ, which have power to determine on points of doctrine and Church discipline; and it is thought that if the Synod comes to insist on this cramp question, the N.S.S. will be in danger of choking upon it before they get it swallowed down." Wodrow's comment was, "His manner of writing seems not serious, as the importance of the argument calls for; but I don't see how these gentlemen will answer his reasonings he mixes with his tart way of saying them." When the meeting of Synod arrived, so much time was taken up with the charge which Colonel Upton preferred in regard to the tendency of non-subscribing principles, that the counter-charge brought against Clerk had to be abandoned.

After the non-Subscription Controversy was at an end, Mr. Clerk resigned his congregation on the 29th April, 1729, and emigrated to America. He proceeded to New Hampshire, where some of his own congregation had gone before him, and had already, under the Rev. James McGregor, formerly the Minister of Aghadowey, and his old neighbour and friend, formed the thriving township of Londonderry upon the Merrimac. When he reached the colony, he found that his friend McGregor had died on the 5th of March previously, and that Londonderry needed a Minister. At the request of the people, but without any formal induction, he took charge of the congregation, and at the same time gave instruction in the higher branches of education. He married Mr. McGregor's widow, as his third wife, educated his stepson, David McGregor, for the ministry, and although seventy years of age at his arrival in New England, yet he acted as pastor for six years. He died

on the 25th January, 1735. Many in the congregation had fought along with him in the great Ulster struggle of 1689, the congregation of Londonderry being composed almost entirely of Presbyterians who in hard times had gone to America out of Aghadowey, Kilrea, Ballymoney, and Coleraine, and had reproduced in the wilderness the name of the city and county which they had left; it was only natural therefore for the old veteran to request in his last illness, that, when all was over, his body should be borne to its last home by those who had stood by his side under the walls of Derry away in the old land.

“In his mode of living,” says Mr. Parker, “he was singularly temperate. He wholly abstained from all kinds of flesh, and never ate of anything which had possessed animal life. His martial spirit, though he had become a Minister of the Prince of Peace, would not unfrequently be revived. It is among the traditions of the people that while sitting as moderator of the Presbytery, the martial music of a training band recalled his youthful fire, and for awhile he was incapable of attending to the duties of his office. To the repeated calls of the members, his reply was, ‘Nae business while I hear the toot o’ the drum.’”

Among the anecdotes which tradition has handed down about Mr. Clerk, the following are recorded by Mr. Parker:—

“During the period of the old French war, a young, large, athletic, and fine-looking British officer, happening during his furlough to be at Londonderry, attended church on the Sabbath, and standing about the door till after service had commenced, was accosted by an elder, and told that ‘he had better walk in.’ He did so while the congregation were engaged in prayer, and taking a conspicuous position stood up, as was the general and appropriate custom of those days, during prayer; but being probably desirous of showing what he thought a good specimen of a British officer in bright scarlet uniform, continued standing until the sermon was somewhat advanced. Mr. Clerk, on glancing around, discovered, much to his annoyance, that the attention of most of the congregation, including nearly all the young ladies, was engrossed by the handsome officer; whereupon he paused, laid down his sermon, and abruptly, with a significant gesture, and in his own emphatic dialect, thus addressed him: ‘Ye are a braw lad, ye hae a braw suit o’

claites, and we hae a' seen them ; ye may sit down.' It may be hardly necessary to add, that the courage of the soldier, which was undoubtedly amply sufficient for all ordinary emergencies, failed him here, and he instantly sat down ; when Mr. Clerk went on with his sermon, as though nothing had happened."

"It is also related of him, that in preaching on the confidence of Peter that he would not deny his Lord, and his subsequent fall, he remarked : ' Just like Peter, aye mair forrit than wise, ganging swaggering about wi' a sword at his side ; an' a puir han' he mad' o' it when he cam' to the trial, for he only cut off a chiel's lug, an' he ought to ha' split down his heed.' "

Parker gives a portrait of Clerk. He has the black patch on his right temple—the memorial that he wore on his person of the celebrated siege : he has on a curly wig parted in the middle, covering his ears, and fitting closely in around the head. He has a broad, square countenance, adorned neither with beard nor moustache, a keen eye, compressed lips, and the air altogether of a bold and determined man. His waistcoat is coloured, much of it hidden in front by bands, of anything but a clerical cut, and made at a time when there was no scarcity of material ; and his coat without a collar, but sitting nevertheless gracefully on his manly shoulders. If this portrait be true to nature, as we must presume it is, Matthew Clerk of Kilrea must in his outward exterior have been a very impressive man.*

" Priest and teacher of the town,
Long as stands good Londonderry,
With it stories sad and merry,
Shall thy name be handed down
As a man of prayer and mark,
Grave and reverend Matthew Clerk." †

* MS. *Minutes of Synod of Ulster* ; Parker's *History of Londonderry*, N.H., pp. 137—139 ; Reid's *History*, vol. iii., ch. xxv., p. 149 ; Wodrow *Correspondence*.

† Poem by Marian Douglas in " Londonderry Celebration of 1869," p. 59.

EARLIEST MANIFESTATIONS OF THE BELFAST SOCIETY.

Before I take notice of the Doctor's book, I shall give you some parcels of a paper, emitted by that Society in a Synod at Antrim, anno 1715; which will give some discovery of these lads, and what fruit that Society brought forth, after ten years' standing, when they took upon them to teach their fathers: and it being now six years ago, no marvel they take it ill to meet with a check from any opposer; and therefore they vent such a heap of bitter expressions against the person that answers Dugnd.—*Letter from the Country*, p. 4.

FAULTS CHARGED UPON PRESBYTERIANS.

Many are the faults charged on Presbyterians in general, Ministers and people. And, 1st, they have little charity (if you believe the Society) for any of the Established Church. 2ndly, They revile the persons of men. 3rdly, They declare their aversion to lawful and commendable practices, only because they are used by the Church of England, such as the use of the Lord's Prayer. 4thly, They refuse, or neglect, to pray for Protestants of that persuasion, as the Society say. 5thly, They are unwilling to own their agreement with the Church in these things, wherein we and all sound Protestants are agreed with her.—*Letter from the Country*, p. 5.*

POPULAR ATTACHMENT TO PRESBYTERIANISM.

There has been diverse, who laid down their lives in behalf of religion, who subscribed the *Confession of Faith* a little before their execution, as their testimony, and left that subscription at their death. All the dust that will be raised, and dirt thrown, will never cover that blood, nor blot out these subscriptions. I am confident in God's strength, that though you that deny subscribing the *Confession*, and we that have subscribed, should all concur to throw it at our heels, yet there will be as many zealous Christians of our hearers, as will continue to have a regard for our *Confession of Faith*, and still hold Presbyterian principles. When four hundred Ministers in Scotland turned tail to Presbytery and embraced Episcopacy, Presbytery was not extinguished. Witness the present discipline in force; the people were more steadfast proportionably than the Ministers. They that value their *Circular Letter* and *Dr. Ferguson's Confession of Faith* above the *Confession of Faith*, need not expect to be much valued by Presbyterians.—*Answer*, pp. 7, 8.

THE SOCIETY CHARGED WITH THE SYNODICAL PAPER OF 1715.†

I found that paper of Canonical Reformation in Mr. John

* This and the previous extract were copied for me by Professor Croskery, from the original in the Advocates' Library.

† See Reid, vol. iii., p. 64.

Abernethy's hand, and that is enough to vindicate me that it is the Society's work. For they act all by concert, and what one does, all do. If it were but voting in a Synod, what he that is called first votes, they all follow in a string like wild geese—no discord among them. I never heard better hedge-fire. So I made no doubt to assert it in my book, and am no way in pain about that, when I found only one of the Society concerned in it, to attribute it to the whole. And in this country, in whose hands soever we find our stolen horse, we challenge him for the thief; let him purge himself. If it was framed in a committee, it had its rise from the Society, and hammered on their anvil. What other Ministers were with them, may be compared to some of Absalom's guests (2 Sam. xv. 11): "And with Absalom went two hundred men out of Jerusalem, that were called, and *they went in their simplicity, and they knew not anything.*"—*Answer*, p. 11.

THE CONFESSION, A BARRIER AGAINST HERESY.

There is no less need of a Confession of Faith, when heresies are spreading and increasing, that every person's private judgment may be known by their own hand. There was in former times, and there always has been, heresies in every age, and the Apostle says there will be; (1 Cor. xi. 19,) "For there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you." And this is the way was taken in every age to withstand them, as may be seen, Neh. ix. 38, x. 1, Acts xv.; and the constant practice of the Church to this day; only the Arians refused to subscribe the Canons of Nice Council, and our New-Light men refused to subscribe our Westminster Confession. And very probable in diverse Councils, many refused to subscribe, but then they did not profess to believe the decisions. But never any refused to subscribe what they believed to be true, except our *bairns* that pretend to be wiser than their fathers, as all petted bairns are apt to do.—*Answer*, pp. 20, 21.

WANT OF A PRECEPT FOR SUBSCRIBING CONFESSIONS.

The great pretence is a Gospel precept for making and subscribing Confessions, as if a Gospel precept were to be expected for every circumstance, naturally depending on an action. Ministers are enjoined to preach. What need bidding them go up to the pulpit, read the text, open their mouth, and speak out that people may hear them?

That place we already quoted, 1 Pet. iii. 15, "But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts, and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear."

Now a man in France writes a letter to a Minister in Ireland, to give him an account of his principles. This can be done no

other way, to answer the Scripture command, but by writing; and the person must subscribe it, or not own it. If he would go to his own house end, and cry over to France, he would be judged frantic. And the Gospel nowhere in particular leads us to write our answer, but it is included in the general: and so are all our printed confessions, comments, and sermons, that are consonant to Scripture.

I wish ye were as careful to look for Gospel precepts for every freak that's in your noddles.—*Answer*, p. 27.

CONCLUSION.

After all, methinks it strange, that a Society of people should agree to allow every man his private judgment, and yet cavil at anybody that makes use of the grant they have so freely given. This is to throw down with one hand, what's built with the other. And I declare before the world, what I wrote in my letter is my private judgment, to which ye say I have an essential unalienable right, and therefore, whatsoever other people may speak of my letter, you have tied your hands and stopped your mouth before the world. And if the Synod has allowed such petted bairns as you an indulgence, they allowed my dissent against proceedings, in their public records, at two several Synods; so I am flyting-free with you, and continue notwithstanding one of your best friends.—*Answer*, p. 29.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SAMUEL HEMPHILL, M.A. (1718—1741),

MINISTER OF CASTLEBLAYNEY.

1. *Some General Remarks*, argumentative and historical, on the *Vindication* published by Dr. Ferguson, with the consistency of subscribing the Westminster Confession of Faith, with the Abjuration Oath. With a preface to the Doctor. Acts viii. 36—38. pp. 44. 1722. M. C. D.
2. The *Third Page* of Mr. Abernethy's preface to the *Defence of his Seasonable Advice* considered. pp. 16. *Belfast*, 1725. A. L. E.
3. *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Samuel Haliday*, wherein his scheme of Ministerial Communion in the seventh page of his introduction to his *Reasons against Subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith*, is examined and compared with his four grand arguments; also a remark occasioned by an uncharitable reflection in the eleventh page of his late letter directed to the Rev. Mr. Gilbert Kennedy. [Dated, "Castleblayney, May 30th, 1726."] pp. 34. *Dublin*, 1726. A. L. E.

SAMUEL HEMPHILL was ordained by the Presbytery of Augher on the 24th of December, 1718, as Minister of Castleblayney, then a newly formed and feeble outpost of the Synod of Ulster. At the previous meeting of Synod in Belfast, the people intimated that although they had given a call to Mr. Hemphill, they had no house of worship, and were not able to build one. Lord Blayney promised them assistance, and wrote to the Synod on their behalf. The Synod sympathized deeply with the congregation in their difficulties, and ordered all its ministers to assist them in the work of building. General resolutions of this sort, however,

rarely produce much, and the probability is that the main burden had to be borne by Castleblayney itself. The sympathy was useful this far, that it encouraged the people to go forward, and their young minister was ordained in the following December.

Of Mr. Hemphill's private and pastoral life, very little is known; his public life is known to this extent, that he took a prominent part in the non-Subscription Controversy, and was one of the few who ventured on the public arena to measure themselves against the athletes of the Belfast Society. His works are now so rarely met with, that it is questionable whether any living man has read them all. I never saw any of them, except No. 1 and the four pages of preface prefixed to Mastertown's *Apology*. The extracts given from Nos. 2 and 3 were taken for me by a friend, from the copies in the Advocates' Library.

His first published work was his *Remarks on the Vindication* (see ch. xviii.), which Dr. Reid characterizes as able and popularly written, and not unworthy to take rank with the ablest productions of the Belfast Society.

Mastertown (see ch. xxxv.) had such confidence in his judgment and ability, that he sent him his *Apology* in 1723 for revision and publication, Hemphill being at the time in Edinburgh; and the work was issued from the Glasgow press in that year, accompanied by a preface of four pages, written by the Minister of Castleblayney.

Two years after he published some animadversions on the third page of Abernethy's Preface to the *Defence of his Seasonable Advice*; but it is occupied with matters purely personal, and does not touch the general question any farther than this, that he shows how his opponent's arguments may be turned against himself, and that the plan of each minister writing out a creed for himself is more dangerous than the synodical plan of requiring all to subscribe the Confession of Faith.

The *Letter to Haliday* appeared in the following year. In it he shows, that Haliday's objections to subscription might with equal propriety be urged against his own scheme of ministerial communion. Being published immediately before the meeting, at which the Presbytery of Antrim was excluded from the Synod, it appeared at a critical moment when the orthodox cause needed support.

The cause of truth in the North of Ireland suffered from the want of more writers like Hemphill to aid it, at a crisis when the culture and literary power were nearly all with the N.S.S. Had it not been that the controversy of the hour called him forth, the probability is that he never would have thought of making his appearance as a writer; when the din of discussion ceased, he withdrew, and was heard of no more. His subsequent silence is sufficiently accounted for by the fact, that he was the Minister of a newly erected charge planted on the very frontiers of Presbyterianism. All who know what that means now, and then it meant a great deal more, can well understand that he was under no strong temptation to make many ventures in literature.

A man who had rendered some literary service to the Church in its day of peril, should have been called into a more prominent position, where his talent would have been better appreciated and more generously rewarded. But it is one of the drawbacks of our popular constitution, that it makes no provision for such things. Congregations in general prefer young untried men, to men who have given solid proof of their attainments. The people did not think of it, and Hemphill was left to spend his years in penury, while far inferior ministers were planted in the fat places of the land.

"Evil is done by want of thought, as well as by want of heart."

Hemphill was in great difficulties all his life, owing to the weakness and poverty of his people. After his death, his neighbour, Mr. McComb of Creggan, complained to the Synod, that on one occasion he had to

pay fifty pounds out of his own pocket to take him out of the hands of the Sheriff, and that the money had never been refunded. The Synod, to their credit, notwithstanding it was a private debt, made Mr. M'Comb an allowance for this service. On the 28th of March, 1741, Mr. Hemphill was finally released from the sorrows of this world.*

THE PRESBYTERIAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

It was by a Presbyterian form of government, that God was pleased to bless the work of religion in the hands of our fathers, who are now fallen asleep in the Lord. They handed down the truths of the Gospel, pure and uncorrupted, to us. The comely order of God's house was the matter of their care and industry. They submitted to the determination of a Synod as agreeable to the word of God, as God's ordinance. No heresies ever sprang up among them—no schisms or divisions; they all drave one end, and strove to outvie one another in winning souls to Christ, and in preserving truth and peace. It was an excellent answer given by King James the First, concerning the happy state of the Church of Scotland, as being more free from heresy than any Church in the Reformation, that it was entirely owing to the excellent frame of Presbyterian Government and Discipline.—*Remarks argumentative and historical*, p. 19.

SCENE AT THE SYNOD OF 1723.

'Tis confidently asserted that the Reverend Mr. Haliday offered the reasons for his non-subscription to the last Synod met at Dungannon, and that the Synod neither would nor durst hear them. I shall set that matter in a just light. On Thursday afternoon, there was a select committee appointed to draw up Overtures, relating to the debate then before the Synod. The day following, three Overtures were brought in, voted, and approved. The fourth related to the deferring the trial, then before the Synod, till their next meeting; and it was agreed that the parties should then be heard on that head. Mr. Haliday, without taking notice to [of] the design of the Synod in calling in the parties, entertained them with a detail of their conduct in passing the three first resolutions, and said the Synod had been condemning principles which he espoused, and that he was ready to offer his reasons for his non-subscription. In

* MS. *Minutes of Synod*; Reid's *History*.

answer to this, some of the most grave Ministers of the Synod alleged, that, if Mr. Haliday would then give his reasons, it would involve them in new debates; that it was Friday, the second week of the Synod; many Ministers were gone home; that if they would enter on that affair, twenty or thirty congregations might possibly lie desolate the next Lord's-day; that Mr. Haliday's reasons would not counterbalance such a loss; but if he had any reasons, they desired him to print them, and make them known to the world. This is the mighty nothing, about which there is so much noise. Mr. Haliday repeated words to the same purpose at the last meeting of the General Synod's Committee at Dungannon. I am obliged to tell the world that he was taken up by one, who will manage the controversy with him, in these words: "I believe the *Westminster Confession of Faith* to be founded on the Word of God: I have subscribed that Confession as the confession of my faith: I now adhere to that subscription: in that book are the theses of my religion; I am prepared to defend them: if Mr. Haliday has any sentiments in religion different from mine, I am willing to enter the lists with him as a fair disputant." They both consentibly withdrew, and each of them brought in a paper subscribed with their names, which are now lodged in the hands of the clerk of Committee: and I can't but take notice, notwithstanding all these brags, that Mr. Haliday frequently moved, that that affair might be dropt.—*Preface to Mastertown's Apology*, p. 4.

THE NEW TEST OF ORTHODOXY.

To undermine an old foundation, which has been so beautiful, and which has answered the end for which it was designed, and not to lay a better, but a worse, argues plainly little sagacity, and as little prudence. Indeed, you have done what lies in your power to explode the use of the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, as a test of orthodoxy, or a test of communion in this Church; and you have left it doubtful whether you have substituted a better. You have raised the most powerful arguments (it may be presumed) you were capable to form; you had drawn them up in the most formidable manner, and your friends have hugged themselves in the depth and solidity of them: but, after all, among the many, I must say I am yet unconvinced; after all the strenuous endeavours used by you and your abettors in this argument, and the pains taken to spread your darling non-subscribing principles from the press and the pulpit, and by private conversation; after all the elaborate speeches in our judicatories, many imagine that Synod is pursuing the good old way in maintaining and preserving truth against the fluctuating notions of this age.—*Third page of Abernethy considered*.*

* This extract was copied for me by Mr. R. G. Milling, from the original in the Advocates' Library.

THE SUBSTITUTE FOR SUBSCRIPTION UNSCRIPTURAL AS
SUBSCRIPTION.

Give me leave to use your own arguments against your scheme. I cannot find that Jesus Christ, the Great King and Lawgiver of the Christian Church, has made any such law, neither that He hath given to any fallible ordainers a power that they shall oblige a candidate, before he be licensed or ordained, to preach upon important subjects, or to draw up a confession of faith in his own words. That Christ has made any such law, I suppose no man will allege; indeed, if there were any such law in the New Testament, it would have been quoted long ago, and there is no doubt but all good Christians would have yielded a ready, cheerful obedience to it. I call upon you in the most solemn manner (or for ever you or any of your party after this I expect will quit claims to any objections against the Synod), to show me a law of the Gospel for your scheme of intrants into the holy Ministry. I call upon you as a Christian and as a Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, that you produce me some Divine authority for it. But I believe you will be very hard put to it to find any. To what purpose then have we had so many exclamations against unscriptural terms of communion for these five years past? Will you imagine we will take your scheme as an infallible decision? I desire you to consider what dis-service you have done to religion, and how you have disturbed the peace of the Church.—*Letter to Haliday*, p. 9.*

* This extract was copied for me by Prof. Croskery, from the original in the Advocates' Library.

CHAPTER XXXV.

CHARLES MASTERTOWN, M.A. (1704—1750),

MINISTER AT CONNOR AND BELFAST.

1. *Farewell Address* to the Congregation of Connor, from Acts xx. 32. [Preached in 1722, but not published till after his death.] *Belfast*, 1753.
2. *An Apology* for the Northern Presbyterians in Ireland, wherein requiring subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith as a condition of Ministerial Communion among them is justified. In answer to the *Seasonable Advice* from Dublin, and other late performances, published in opposition to the practice of the best Reformed Churches, relating to Creeds and Confessions. 4to., pp. 56. *Glasgow*, 1723. M. C. D.
3. *Christian Liberty* founded on Gospel Truth, or the great argument of Christian Liberty explained in its necessary connexion with sound principles in opposition to some dangerous notions relating to both. pp. 46. *Belfast*, 1725. [Reprinted 1753.] M. C. D.
4. *The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity* explained and asserted from the Holy Scriptures. Being a vindication of what is contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, and other Protestant Confessions on that subject. pp. 65. *Belfast*, 1725. [Reprinted at Edinburgh, 1729; Deptford, 1734; Belfast, 1745; London, 1827.] A. C. B.
5. *A Short Reply* to the Postscript to Mr. Abernethy's *Defence of the Seasonable Advice* by the three Dublin Ministers, wherein is considered what they offer against the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the use of it in reference to candidates for the Holy Ministry, as is practised in the North, according to Synodical regulations. And likewise what they propose for having ministerial communion allowed among the Northern Presbyterians without subscription to the said Confession, or declaration of assent to

- the doctrines of it, is showed to be inexpedient, and as of dangerous consequence. pp. 72. *Dublin*, 1726. M. C. D.
6. *The Great Importance of the Scripture Doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity of Divine Persons in the Unity of the Godhead.* [Being a supplement to No. 4.] 1745.

THE author of the above treatises was a native of Scotland. He entered the University of Edinburgh in 1698, and having graduated was licensed in due course to preach the Gospel by the Presbytery of Linlithgow. Soon after, he removed to Ireland, and was accepted as a Licentiate by the Synod of Ulster in 1703. He received a call from the congregation of Connor in county Antrim, and was ordained there on the 17th of May, 1704.

From 1708 till 1720, there were only two Presbyterian congregations in the town of Belfast; but in the latter year, a number of persons dissatisfied with the Newlight proclivities of Kirkpatrick and Haliday, withdrew from their ministry, and formed themselves into a worshipping body henceforth known as the Third Congregation. They had some difficulties in building a church and in getting fairly started, but all difficulties were in the end surmounted. Their attention was called to Mr. Mastertown of Connor, as a man of ability, orthodox opinions, and blameless life. He accepted their call, and was installed in the new congregation towards the close of 1722. He was Moderator of the Synod, which met at Dunganon in June 1723, and sat in judgment on Colonel Upton's Appeal. His Synodical sermon in the following year was founded on Isaiah lxii. 6, but it was not published.

His *Apology* in answer to Abernethy's *Seasonable Advice* appeared in 1723. It was submitted to Wodrow for correction and approval before it was printed, but he does not appear to have made any alterations. Being his first publication, Mr. M. seems to have felt a sort of reluctance to come so prominently before the public, but his friend Livingstone (see ch. xxvi.) overcame this shyness, and induced him to render this much-required service to the Church. Abernethy re

joined in his *Defence of the Seasonable Advice*. This called forth *The Short Reply* in 1726. This publication closed that department of the controversy.

In the interval between the appearance of the *Apology* and the *Short Reply*, Mr. Mastertown was occupied in the preparation of two works, which in their way did good service to the truth. The first is a sermon founded on John viii. 32, on the subject of *Christian Liberty* as connected with sound principles; "it is written with great plainness, and affords a favourable specimen of the sound reasoning and scriptural knowledge of our fathers of that day." The other is his treatise on the Trinity, originally published at Belfast in 1725, and which has passed through various editions since. Considering the doctrines which were about to develop from the principles of the non-subscribers, this valuable work did not appear a moment too soon, and must have prevented not a few from turning away out of the old paths. So much was this piece esteemed, that it passed through several editions in the author's lifetime, and has even been reprinted since—an honour which I believe has been bestowed on no other work that owed its existence to the non-Subscription Controversy.

The Synod which met at Antrim in 1745, was the last Synod ever attended by Mastertown. He soon after, owing to the infirmities of age, retired from the ministry, and an assistant was appointed. He died on the 15th July, 1750. As a memorial of his public services, his friends after his death reprinted his sermon on *Christian Liberty*, and joined with it his farewell *Address to the Congregation of Connor*, when retiring from the pastorate of that charge, and about to remove to Belfast. The pamphlet containing these two addresses appeared in 1753.

The first Minister of the Third Congregation of Belfast—now Rosemary Street, in connexion with the General Assembly—was an able and excellent pastor, and by his seasonable and judicious publications rendered essential service to the cause of truth in his

day. His descendants are numerous, and some of them are among the best and most zealous Presbyterians in Ireland.*

UNINSPIRED CREEDS NOT UNWARRANTED.

It is taken for granted by the best civilians, and very justly, that to render a law obligatory, it must be formed and promulgated in such a perspicuous manner, that the subjects cannot misunderstand it to their own prejudice, but it must be their own fault, and not the fault of the legislature. And though men cannot form laws in all respects perfect, yet the infinite wisdom and goodness of our glorious Lawgiver maketh it necessary to suppose that His laws are so formed as rendereth them unexcusable, who, having sufficient means of perceiving their true meaning, understand them in a sense contrary to the intention of the Lawgiver; and because it would infer defectiveness in the laws of Christ to suppose that no more is to be understood, than what is literally expressed in the declarations of Scripture, we must own with all Protestants the necessity of Scripture consequences, and that those necessarily and immediately arising from Scripture premises are as perspicuous, as the plain and the express propositions from which they necessarily result can make them. But being [seeing] it is impossible to profess these consequential doctrines in express Scripture words, because the consequential proposition must needs be of a form different from that of the antecedent propositions, therefore it may fairly be inferred that if these consequential doctrines be necessary to be professed, and are of the same Divine authority with the express declarations from which they necessarily proceed, as Protestants generally have asserted—then I say, it followeth plainly, that the same Divine laws which warrant a Christian society to require of intrants into the ministry among them, to make profession of their assent to express Scripture propositions containing doctrines which are after godliness, do also warrant their requiring a declaration of assent to the consequences immediately and evidently arising from such propositions.—*Apology for the Northern Presbyterians*, p. 14.

NO SCRIPTURE PRECEPT UNIMPORTANT.

It's true, all the precepts of the Gospel are necessary and important in one degree or another, yet comparatively speaking they are not equally momentous. Some of them are absolutely necessary for the very being of a Christian as such, others of

* *Orthodox Presbyterian*, January, 1839; MS. *Minutes of Synod*; Reid's *History*.

them are necessary only to sundry degrees of a Christian's well-being. Our Saviour speaks of the first and great commandment—of loving the Lord our God with all our heart, and the second which is like unto it, of loving our neighbour as ourselves; He speaks also of the least of His commandments in Matt. v. 19. As there is a different importance of precepts, so there is of principles and doctrines of the Gospel. The Apostle to the Hebrews (v. 12) speaks of the first principles of the oracles of God, which in the first verse of the next chapter he calls the foundation principles. Whence it is evident to me, there is no more reason for using the distinction of essential and unessential, with respect to articles of faith, than with respect to Scripture precepts.

I observe that the precepts of the Gospel have a subordination one of them to another, as some writers express it, like stones in the wall of a regular building; they are so coherent with and dependent upon one another, that one of them cannot be removed, but the building either suffers in its usefulness or ornament. Hence it is that the Apostle Peter (2 Pet. i. 5—7) enjoins to give all diligence, “add to your faith virtue, to virtue knowledge, to knowledge temperance, to temperance patience, to patience godliness, to godliness brotherly kindness, to brotherly kindness charity.” So there is likewise a harmony and a dependence among the truths of the Gospel, which, as the several stones of a wall, lean upon one another, and the whole superstructure leans upon the foundation. The doctrines of the Gospel (2 Tim. i. 13) are called the form of sound words, upon the account of their dependence on each other. This is called by ancient Protestant writers the analogy of faith, which some think is intended by the Apostle (Rom. xii. 6), “Let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith.” In the original language it is the analogy of faith, that is, a collection of plain and important doctrines of Christianity, placed in a due coherence with each other. The several articles of faith are proportioned to one another. It makes the wall the stronger, the more exactly every stone is formed and inlaid with another; in like manner the spirit of wisdom and revelation hath proportioned and placed the truths of the Gospel so that they are said to be fitly spoken; they are fitted to one another, and all of them are fitted to the great end of making the man of God, and every child of God, perfect in every good word and work; and every one of the lesser truths are proportionably important as they are placed in the Scripture less or more near to the fundamental doctrines and precepts of the Gospel. I can't therefore be reconciled to their way of writing upon this subject, who represent all unessential doctrines of the Scripture, as if they were matters of Christian liberty and mere indifference, the same way as the difference of meats and days in the Apostles' times was left to every man's discretion to act according to the persuasion of his own mind, while it was

of little moment whether their persuasion was upon one side of the question or the other. But we are assured from the word of God, that Scripture truths, though not strictly fundamental, yet they are the truths which are after godliness, and consequently, unless any instance of godliness can be judged a matter of indifference, no more can the doctrines which are according to godliness be reckoned to be of indifferent moment. "He," says our Saviour, "who breaketh the least of my commandments shall be least in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. v. 19). And by an evident consequence, he that despiseth the least of these Scripture doctrines, upon which those precepts are founded, must be obnoxious to the same penalty.—*Christian Liberty*, pp. 9—11.

ADVANTAGES OF A COMMON CONFESSION.

In opposition to the Dublin Overture, I had said that their Overture is contrary to the declared principle of the subscribers, which is that there ought to be one common confession of Ministers, in the bounds of the General Synod. To which the Rev. Prefacers answer, that this is a criminal narrowing of the terms of ministerial communion, contrary to the laws of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I answer that the General Synod, in resolving to have the W. C. the common confession of Ministers in this Church, they did what they thought best for preserving both of peace and truth; and that, as an united body of Presbyterians, they might with one mouth and heart confess their common Lord and His precious truths before men, and give the world to know what are the doctrines preached among us. And one would think that the greater harmony in religious principles there is, to which any Church attaineth, the greater is their glory both before God and all good men, and the more extensive is their communion in a Scripture sense. For they who have communion together in a greater number of Gospel doctrines, their communion is larger than theirs who have a communion in a smaller number of such doctrines.

I must own that to me it is a very great disadvantage to the credit of these called Presbyterians in the South of Ireland, that by their want of a common confession among their Ministers, no man can know what they are in principles, as a body of Ministers of one denomination. Some may chance to have access to the private confessions composed by these Ministers severally; but unless a confession be collected out of all the particular ones duly composed, it must be a secret to all the world beside themselves, what are the momentous principles wherein these Ministers are agreed. And therefore, if I might presume in my turn to offer advice, I should think it advisable for these worthy gentlemen, not to imitate the practice of the sectaries who prevailed in the days of Oliver Cromwell, who

united almost in no religious principles, but those which justified an unbounded liberty, but that they should think it more reputable so far to conform to the practice of their Dissenting Brethren in the North, as to make some collection of doctrines the known terms of Ministerial Communion among them. If it was a public Confession consisting of nine hundred and ninety propositions, fewer than what are in our Confession, it would be better than to have no common Confession at all.—*Reply to the Postscript*, pp. 43—45.

THE DISTINCTION OF PERSONS.

Quest. How does it appear that there is a distinction among the Persons of the Godhead?

Ans. Because different things are said of them, and they are not mentioned still in the same, but in a different order. *First*, different things are said of them; the Father is said to beget, the Son to be begotten of the Father, and the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father and the Son. They are brought in speaking to one another, which belongs to different persons; “The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand:” “The Lord hath said to me, Thou art my Son, this day I have begotten thee.” Different things are said of them, as in John i. 1, “The Word was with God,” which must be meant of different persons, otherwise the sense would be *The word was with himself*, which is very absurd; for in verse 14 it is said, “The Word was made flesh,” which is not said of the other two; and the Son is said to “have had a glory with the Father before the world was.” All Three are distinguished expressly at the baptism of our blessed Lord; the Father is brought in saying, “This is my beloved Son;” the Son receiveth baptism; and the Holy Ghost descendeth on Him in the likeness of a dove.

The Three Persons are mentioned in Scripture in a different order. In Matt. xxviii. 19, they are placed in their natural order, . . . but in Eph. iv. 4—6, and in 1 Cor. xii. 4—6, the Spirit is first, the Son next, and the Father last. In Eph. ii. 18, they are mentioned in another order, as also in 2 Cor. xiii. 14, where the Son is first, the Father next, and the Holy Ghost last. And the Three Persons being mentioned in Scripture, sometimes in one order, and sometimes in another, it is some addition to the evidence concerning the distinction of the Persons, as also their equality as to the essential glory of the Divine Nature.

Quest. In order to our conceiving of the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity, what other observations may be made on that subject?

Ans. These following: *First*, The Three Persons are so distinct, that one of them neither is, nor can be, the other. The Father is not, and cannot be, begotten; the personal properties of the Father, of begetting, sending, and giving the Son, cannot

belong to the Son : nor can the properties of the Son belong to the Father : nor can the properties of the Holy Ghost, of proceeding from the Father and the Son, belong to any but Himself. Thus the Three Persons were distinguished at Christ's baptism (Matt. iii. 17), which made some in ancient times say to those who denied this doctrine, *Go to Jordan, and there see a Trinity*. Yet though the Father is not the Son, nor the Son the Father, and neither Father nor Son is the Holy Ghost, the Three Persons are equally possessed of the one Divine Nature.

Secondly, That such a distinction must be admitted betwixt the Three Persons, as will answer the different attributions made in Scripture to them severally, with respect to the interest they have in the work of our redemption. This order and economy of the Three blessed Persons stands thus—viz., the Father sends the Son, the Son comes to satisfy Divine justice, the Son sends the Spirit to apply the redemption purchased by His own death. If there be no distinction betwixt the Three Persons, the whole frame of the Christian religion will be overturned.

Thirdly, Although the Three Persons be each of them distinguished from another, yet are they not distinguished as to anything that is essential to the Deity ; the Divine nature is equally in them all. The Son is not a different God from the Father, nor the Spirit a different God from the Father and Son ; as it is well expressed by one of the ancients—"Though there are Three in whom the Godhead is, yet there is in them Three but one God."—*Doctrine of the Trinity Explained*, pp. 13—15.

THE ETERNAL GENERATION.

It is so mysterious, that the way and manner of it is not known to any, but to Him who begot, and to Him who is begotten ; yet the Scripture is very plain in affirming that our blessed Lord is not only the Son of God as to His human nature (Luke i. 25), but in asserting that He is the Son of God as to His Divine nature ; for the Son speaks of the glory which He had with the Father before the world was (John xvii. 4). So that He is the eternal Son of an eternal Father, who is of the same nature and hath the same Divine perfections with the Father. We understand the meaning of *begetting* and *begotten*, as they are applied to creatures ; but to pretend to form a notion of Father and Son in the Deity, from any resemblance to father and son among men, as to the way of derivation and what is derived, is the way to darken this sublime subject, and to involve ourselves in dangerous misapprehensions.—*Doctrine*, p. 23.

THE DEITY OF THE SON.

The Apostle John is very clear and copious in the witness which he bears to this great truth, (John i. 1—3,) "The Word was with God, and the Word was God ;" that is, He was as truly

God as He was with Him, with whom He was before all worlds. And accordingly this Apostle saith expressly of our blessed Lord, (1 John v. 20,) "This is the true God and eternal life." In Acts xx. 28, the Church of God is said to be purchased with His own blood; He was the true God when He made the purchase, and if He had not been so, His blood had not been sufficient for it. Thomas made a short but a full confession of this doctrine, (John xx. 28,) "My Lord and my God;" where it is to be observed that our blessed Lord doth not reprove Thomas for giving Him this title, which it was a great iniquity to give to any but the true God. In Phil. ii. 6, 7, the Son is said to be "in the form of God; yea, He thought it not robbery to be equal with God;" that is, He thought it not robbery to claim an equality with God. It is said of John the Baptist, (Luke i. 16,) that "Many of the children of Israel should he turn to the Lord their God;" that is to say, the children of Israel were to esteem Jesus Christ the Son to be the Lord their God, and that by the means of John the Baptist's ministry, the forerunner of our blessed Lord, they should be turned to Him. He is said to be "the mighty God" (Isa. ix. 6). He is also said to be "God manifested in the flesh" (1 Tim. iii. 16). And in Matt. i. 23, the Deity of our blessed Lord is expressly asserted: "Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a Son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is God with us;" this the Evangelist tells us was a fulfilment of an Old Testament prediction, Isa. vii. 14. In Tit. ii. 13, the Apostle expressly calls our Saviour "the Great God." And in Col. ii. 9, "All the fulness of the Godhead" is said to "dwell in Christ bodily," which never was said of any in Scripture but the true God. In Rom. ix. 5, our Redeemer is said to be "God over all, blessed for ever," which words cannot be applied and restricted to God the Father, as the Arians and Socinians do, without a manifest violence offered to the obvious construction of the text.—*The Doctrine etc.*, pp. 27, 28.

ANONYMOUS, 1723.

1. *Pax intra Partes*, or Union resolved among Subscribers and non-Subscribers, as expressed by the mind of the Synod at Derry, June 23rd, 1722. As exprest in their resolves. 12mo., pp. 8. *Dublin*, 1723. M. C. D.

THIS is an exposition of the Resolutions of Synod agreed to by the Synod at Derry in 1722. It takes up the resolutions in succession, and interprets them in a very orthodox sense indeed. The authorship of the

tractate is unknown. We give his exposition of the Fourth Resolution as follows:—

FOURTH RESOLVE.

“Tho’ this Synod doth adhere to the subscription of the Westminster Confession of Faith as a test of orthodoxy, yet they desire to exercise Christian forbearance towards their brethren, now actually in the Ministry in this Church, with respect to their different sentiments on this head, provided always they govern themselves according to the Acts of Synod in this Church, and do not disturb the peace thereof.”

1. Remark, this establisheth the Confession to be the test of orthodoxy; this gives up all the exceptions against it as such, and obliges all the members to adhere to it as their test, to be given to and received by them.

2. This test is that whereby Presbyterians are to be tried.

3. They who profess the Confession must subscribe it, or not be looked upon as sound Presbyterians.

4. That the Synod desires to exercise forbearance towards non-subscribers; this says, the Synod hath power to require subscription.

5. That subscription is a debt due by non-subscribers, and not forgiven; which they are to pay when called for.

6. This is limited only to Ministers actually now in this Church, and excludes all young probationers and ministers from other places, that do not subscribe or conform to the former Act.

7. These that are now actually in, must behave according to the Acts of the Synod, among which are expressly these that require subscription to the Confession.

8. They must not disturb the peace of the Church. Now it is manifest that the Church in the North of Ireland never had such inward disturbance as now it hath by non-subscribers: and this is manifest in all Presbyteries, Synods, and Congregations, where non-subscription is carried on; so that it is inconsistent with the peace of the Church.—*Pax*, p. 6.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SAMUEL HALIDAY, M.A. (1720—1738),

MINISTER AT BELFAST (FIRST CONG.)

1. A *Letter* from the Rev. Messrs. Kirkpatrick and Haliday, Ministers in Belfast, to a friend in Glasgow, with relation to the New Meeting-house in Belfast. pp. 13. *Edin.* 1723.
2. *Reasons* against the imposition of subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith, or any such human tests of orthodoxy, together with answers to the arguments for such impositions. pp. xvi. and 152. *Belfast*, 1724. M. C. D.
3. A *Letter to the Rev. Mr. Gilbert Kennedy*, occasioned by some personal reflections contained in his answer to Mr. Haliday's *Reasons*. pp. 67. *Belfast*, 1725. A. C. B.
4. A *Letter to the Rev. Mr. Francis Iredell*, occasioned by his *Remarks* on a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Gilbert Kennedy. pp. 46. *Belfast*, 1726.
5. A *Sermon* occasioned by the death of the Rev. Mr. Michael Bruce, preached at Holywood, 7th December, 1735. [Ps. xxxvii. 37.] pp. 35. *Belfast*, 1735. A. C. B.

THE father of SAMUEL HALIDAY, was also called Samuel. He came from Scotland to Ireland in 1664, and in the year before the Revolution was Minister of Raphoe in county Donegal. Like many others, he had to leave the country in 1688, but returned in 1692, and having declined calls from Donaghedy, Urney, and Omagh, he was installed as Minister of Ardstraw, where he remained down till his death in 1724.

Mr. Haliday contrived to give his son an excellent education. After graduating in one of the Scottish universities, the young man went to Leyden to study Theology, where it is recorded that he defended a thesis on Lev. xxiv. 10—16, in the presence of the

celebrated Witsius. In 1706, he was licensed at Rotterdam in Holland. He was subsequently ordained at Geneva, and became chaplain to the Scots Cameronian Regiment, which served under the Duke of Marlborough during the campaign in Flanders. On returning from the wars, he was received by the Synod of Ulster as an ordained minister without charge, and declared capable of being settled in any of their congregations.

In 1714, the Rev. Alexander Sinclair (see ch. xxxii.) applied to the Synod to have him settled as his colleague in the congregation of Plunket Street, Dublin, and read a letter from Mr. Haliday, then in London, stating that if settled there he wished it to be done with the consent of the General Synod. The settlement, however, was not effected. During his residence in London, he made himself active in promoting the social and political interests of the Irish Presbyterians. He made every exertion in his power to prevent the extension of the Bill against schism to Ireland, and although his efforts were unsuccessful, the Synod was not the less grateful, and ordered his expenses to be refunded to him.

Mr. Haliday came to Ireland and attended the meeting of the Synod of Ulster at Belfast in 1718, where he received the thanks of the body for his zeal in the service of the Church, and had thirty pounds voted to him to aid in covering his outlay. He must have returned to London soon after, for he was present at the famous Salter's Hall debates of 1719, and had his secret bias against subscription to creeds in every form confirmed and deepened. The first congregation of Belfast was then vacant in consequence of the death of the Rev. John McBride (see ch. xiii.), and early in 1720 it agreed to give a call to Mr. Haliday. Before the forms prior to the installation were completed, a report spread abroad that the Minister elect was not only an Arian, but the enemy of Church government in every form. These reports were traced up from one to another, until finally they rested upon the Rev.

Samuel Dunlop of Athlone (see ch. xxx.), who had written to a friend near Belfast, that, from what he saw of Mr. Haliday in London, this was his impression. His conduct in thus giving wing to an evil report of a brother minister, was brought before the Synod, which met in Belfast in June, 1720. It turned out that the report was the result of mere suspicion, founded on the interest taken by Mr. Haliday in the Salter's Hall debates, and on the sympathy which he felt for the non-subscribing party. The Synod having thus no evidence to sustain the charge, the result was that the accused was acquitted, and the accuser rebuked.

Having thus done justice to Haliday, the Synod then proceeded to allay the fears of the Presbyterian people, some of whom had been led to suspect that a portion of the ministers designed to throw the Confession of Faith entirely overboard. To secure this object, they passed the *Pacific Act*, afterwards so often mentioned throughout the non-Subscription Controversy, in which they expressed their determination to adhere steadfastly to the Confession and Catechisms, and forbade anything to be spoken or done to their disparagement; but permitting any person, who was required to subscribe the Confession and who scrupled at any phrase therein as objectionable, to express himself in his own words, and authorizing the Presbytery to accept the explanations, provided it was of opinion that such explanations were consistent with the general substance of the document, and that the person who offered them was in other respects sound in the faith. This act evidently was made with the design of meeting the case of Haliday, whose installation was at hand, and who, it was known, scrupled at some parts of the Confession. When the day appointed—namely, the 28th of July—arrived, an opportunity was afforded him to repay the Synod for their charity and forbearance, and to show his respect for an act which they had passed purposely for his accommodation. He embraced it by refusing resolutely to sign the Confession in any form, and by handing in a written

declaration to the Presbytery, the substance of which was that he believed the Scriptures to be the only rule of revealed religion and a sufficient test of orthodoxy, and that he found all the essential articles of the Christian doctrine to be contained in the Westminster Confession.* A high-minded and honourable man should, I think, in the circumstances, either have complied with the terms of the Pacific Act, or have resigned the call; but Haliday did neither. He acted with the deliberate design of introducing the practice of non-subscription to all creeds, and of setting Presbyterian Church government at nought. In these circumstances, one would think, there was no other course for a Presbytery to take than to insist firmly on compliance with the regulations of the Church, and to abide the consequences. The Belfast Presbytery, however, notwithstanding that their Church law had been spat upon in their very presence, and that four of their members protested, proceeded with the installation.

The case came up before the Synod of 1721. The large attendance of members showed the interest which the whole Church took in the proceedings, and memorials were presented from no less than seventeen congregations, praying that every minister in the Synod should be required to subscribe the Confession. Fears were abroad that the Synod had already departed from the faith of the Gospel, and this state of public feeling demanded immediate action. The Synod passed a declaratory resolution stating that they regarded the Deity of the Son of God an essential article of the Christian faith, and expressing their determination to proceed against all who should deny it, according to the rules of the Church.

Haliday's case then came forward. Again he refused either to subscribe the Westminster Confession, or to declare his adherence to his former subscription of it; and the Synod itself, owing to its love of peace and its weak unwillingness to push matters to ex-

* Reid gives a copy of this Declaration—*History*, vol. iii., ch. xxv., p. 130.

tremities, actually consented to let its public law be trampled upon by one of its own members, and permitted the installation to remain undisturbed. This humiliating scene in our history may best be given in the words of the Synodical Minutes, notwithstanding that the orthography is a little quaint and the diction antique:—

“The affair of Mr. Hallyday’s installement in the old congregation of Belfast being resumed and the case being reasoned at great length, it was moved that Mr. Hallyday’s testimonials may be read, and accordingly his testimonials from the presbytery of Convoy, from Leiden, Rotterdam, Basil, and Geneva, were read: also a letter from some Ministers in London giving testimony to Mr. Hallyday’s soundness in the faith was read: also Mr. Hallyday’s own letter wrote from London to the presbytery of Belfast was read: also a letter from the presbytery of Down to Colonel Ferguson and Mr. Isaac M’Cartney was read; this letter declares their satisfaction with the soundness of Mr. Hallyday’s faith: also a letter from some brethren of Antrim presbytery and some of Coleraine presbytery to the same gentleman, and to the same purpose, was read. Also a letter from the presbytery in Dublin [to] the presbytery of Belfast, to the same purpose, was read. Also a certificate from the old congregation of Belfast, subscribed by a great number of hands attesting the orthodoxy of their Minister’s faith, was read: and after long reasoning upon this matter adjourned to 10 *mane*. . . .

“Belfast affair being resumed, the select Committee appointed to frame an overture upon that affair brought in their overture, which was read, and the case was reasoned a long time, and many debates being raised about said overture, a motion was made, that whereas Mr. Hallyday assented to the Westminster Confession of Faith as the confession of his faith upon his being licensed at Rotterdam, the Moderator should ask him if he adheres to said assent now. It was again moved, that the vote should be put whether we will ask Mr. Hallyday that question or not, and then it was further moved, that the previous question should be put, whether that vote should be put or not; and the previous question was put accordingly, and it carried by plurality of voices put the vote; and then the vote was stated, Ask Mr. Hallyday the above question. Then the Moderator asked Mr. Hallyday, if he now adheres to the assent he gave to the Westminster Confession of Faith when he was licensed, and Mr. Hallyday gave his answer in the following words:—‘My refusal to declare my adherence to the assent I gave to the Westminster Confession of Faith when I was licensed

does not proceed from my disbelief of the important truths contained in it, the contrary of which I have oft by word and writing declared, as this venerable assembly can bear me witness : but my scruples are against the submitting to human tests of Divine truths, especially in a great number of extra-essential points, without the knowledge or belief of which men may be entitled to the favour of God, and the hopes of eternal life, and, according to the laws of the Gospel, to Christian and ministerial communion in the Church, when imposed as a necessary term of such communion. The reasons of which scruples I am now ready to lay before this assembly, and shall always be open to conviction.'

"It was then moved, that Mr. Hallyday should now lay the reasons of his scruples before this Synod : Mr. Hallyday replied, that seeing he hopes this Synod will indulge him in those scruples, he is willing to conceal the reasons of them, that there may be no heat or altercation in the Synod about them. This Synod taking into their serious consideration Mr. Hallyday's answer does utterly disclaim all power of imposing upon the consciences of men, of which God onely is the Lord, and therefore declare themselves ready to receive and seriously to weigh the reasons Mr. Hallyday has for his scruples, and shall be as open to conviction as he is, and consequently cannot charge themselves with the guilt of sinful imposition. Then the Rev. Comrs. from the presbytery of Dublin proposed to this Synod their earnest request that, considering the whole matter complexly, they would please to come to this resolution, that this Synod do entirely drop it ; which request being considered by this Synod, we agreed to comply with it, and the vote was stated drop this whole matter or not, and it carryed drop it entirely *unanimè contradicente*."

Having thus consented to drop all further consideration of the flagrant breach of Church regulations which had now been committed, all felt that something must be done to allay the suspicions which their proceedings had been so well calculated to excite in the public mind. Accordingly the Synod permitted any of its members who pleased to manifest their orthodoxy by a voluntary subscription to the Confession, and a large majority of those present availed themselves of this permission. But even this action was vehemently opposed by the adherents of the Belfast Society, who from this time forward were known by the name of the *non-Subscribers*, and who felt by anticipation the invidious light in which their refusal to subscribe

would place them before the orthodox members of their congregations.

Had the Synod stopped here, it would have acted wisely and well. But the spirit of compromise—the desire to make things pleasant all round, rather than to do what is in itself right and just—has ever been the besetting sin of ecclesiastical bodies. So it was on the present occasion. Before separating, the Synod passed the *Charitable Declaration*, in which each party gave credit to the other for conscientious conduct, and the majority recommended their people to look upon non-subscription as a matter “*wherein Christians and ministers are to exercise mutual forbearance towards one another.*” As if the Synod had not sufficiently humiliated itself by the admission of Haliday, it just permitted its members to sign the Confession, and then told the people virtually that subscription was a matter of very little consequence. Considering the amount of respect which Haliday and his supporters had shown to the law of the Synod, this was treatment which he and they had no right to receive or to expect. As he had done his best to destroy synodical authority, the Ministers were not called upon to interpose their authority in order to shield him and his abettors from the people. It is not to be wondered at, that honest Matthew Clerk (see ch. xxxiii.) protested against this action. The wonder now is, that out of all the Synod he was the only man who did.

Ignoring the Charitable Declaration, the people resented Haliday's behaviour in a manner which was anything but agreeable to him. A very large number of the orthodox members withdrew entirely from the First Congregation of Belfast, established a new congregation, and called to its pastorate an orthodox minister—the Rev. Charles Mastertown of Connor (see ch. xxxv.). This must have been anything but pleasant to Haliday, and both he and his neighbour Kirkpatrick used their best efforts, in a manner not very creditable to either, to defeat the project. Their chagrin showed itself by the joint letter which they

wrote, in order to injure the appeal which those who separated from their ministry made in Scotland for funds to assist in building their house of worship. They took advantage of the fact that they and Master-town were members of the same Synod, and of course nominally in ministerial communion, to claim their right to communicate in his congregation, with the view of demonstrating to the people that to build a separate edifice was not enough, and that they would require to leave the body altogether before they could get clear of the fellowship of the N.SS.* But these discreditable attempts failed in their objects, and the Third Congregation of Belfast was established and prospered in despite of them.

The first literary production of Haliday really worthy of his talents, was his *Reasons against the Imposition of Subscription*, published in 1724. In this clear and powerful pamphlet, he states his case against subscription as well as it was possible to state it, and discusses the subject in a more effective manner than any of his contemporaries. The Rev. John Scott Porter has said about it—"This tract is brief, but it contains the substance of the whole discussion: there is scarcely an argument to be found in subsequent publications on this point, which has not been anticipated by Mr. Haliday."† The effect of this pamphlet is thus described in one of Livingstone's Letters (see ch. xxvi.): "By this time I suppose you will have seen Mr. Haliday's pamphlet against subscription, in which with a bare face he espouses all the principles and arguments of the occasional papers, and others of the anti-confessionists. I was at a select meeting lately, where it was taken into serious consideration, and a good number of very good papers read by way of materials for an answer, but whether anything will be soon printed is not yet determined. We look on Mr. Dunlop's preface to be almost a complete answer,

* See these transactions explained in Reid, ch. xxv.

† See *Bible Christian* for 1836, p. 380.

and have some thought of printing it in the meantime for the benefit of our common people. It is certain that though there be nothing yet concluded in a judicial way against keeping communion with these brethren, yet the far greater number of our ministers seem to decline it while in their own pulpits, nor preach with them. There are some indeed that would keep up the former harmony with them in preaching and communion at the Lord's Supper, but cannot get it done without offending their own congregations, who generally speaking seem to be unalterably resolved to have no charity for the non-subscribers: and now Mr. Haliday's book provokes them to a great degree; especially by the hints he hath given in relation to some articles which he does not mention, as if they were of small importance, speculative, metaphysical, disputable, etc.*

The result of these consultations in regard to Haliday's *Reasons* was the publication of Gilbert Kennedy's *Defence of the Synod of Ulster*, already noticed (see ch. xxxi.).

In the following year, Haliday published his *Letter to Kennedy*, the design of which is to vindicate himself from the charge of Arianism, but more especially to show that the statement of the Westminster Confession (ch. viii., sec. 2), that the two natures in the person of Christ are "without composition," is contrary to the doctrine of the primitive Church, which affirmed Christ to be a compound being; from which he concludes, that it is unwarrantable to make agreement with the Westminster Divines on this point a term of communion. By the expression in question, the Westminster Divines, who knew the import of their own language perhaps as well as Haliday, intended simply to deny the Eutychian heresy, which confounded the natures, and taught that they were mingled together: whereas Haliday understands them to use language which implies a denial of what they never thought of denying, namely, that Christ in one person combines

* Livingstone in the *Wodrow MSS.*, vol. xxi., No. 87.

the manhood and the Godhead. This work, therefore, proceeds upon a mistake.

His *Letter to Iredell* was occasioned by the *Remarks* of the latter (see ch. xvii.) on Haliday's *Letter to Kennedy*. This work I have not had the advantage of seeing, but in Iredell's rejoinder, which I have read, he gives substantially the same explanation as that given above, in regard to the statement of the Confession, that the two natures were joined together in the one person without composition. From this fact we know that Haliday's *Letter to Iredell* must have been substantially a reiteration of the opinions expressed in his *Letter to Kennedy*.

The attempt of Haliday, Kirkpatrick, and Abernethy, to throw overboard the Confession of Faith, did not succeed in its object, but it did succeed in disturbing the religious harmony of the Presbyterian people, and eventually in excluding themselves and their adherents from the Synod. After the separation, Haliday and they were almost powerless to do more hurt. He did not again come before the public, except by his *Funeral Sermon for Bruce of Holywood*, which was published in 1735.

Mr. Haliday died on the 5th of March, 1739. He left behind him the reputation of a man of intellectual ability, polished manners, and knowledge of the world, but of peculiar ecclesiastical principles, which carried in them seeds of error that even he did not detect, and which soon blossomed out into doctrines entirely alien from those of the Fathers and Founders of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. His predecessors in the First Congregation of Belfast—Athony Shaw, and William Keyes, and Patrick Adair (see ch. iv.), and John McBride (see ch. xiii.) had no doctrinal difference with their orthodox brethren. Even Haliday was not an Arian; he was only a non-subscriber. But non-subscription to the Westminster Confession, or some such orthodox formulary, has in our Church at least been always a stepping-stone to Arianism: and this has been manifested in the ministerial successors of Haliday up till the present time.

It is only fair to add, however, that notwithstanding this divergence from orthodoxy, the name of Haliday in the North of Ireland has been for more than a century associated with everything that is upright and honourable in public, and everything that is amiable in private, life. "His son," says Dr. Montgomery,* "became the most eminent physician in Ulster, and for many years enlivened the private society of Belfast by his sparkling wit, and influenced the public proceedings of its citizens by his ardent patriotism as a distinguished Whig. Dr. Haliday acquired a considerable landed estate near Belfast, which is now (1847) in possession of his grand-nephew, Mr. Henry Haliday of Clifton."†

HIS ENTRANCE INTO THE PASTORATE.

In the year 1719 I received an invitation to be Pastor of the Old Congregation in Belfast; and as soon as this was known, the North of Ireland was filled with malicious reports of my being tainted with Arianism. This obliged me to attend the General Synod at Belfast, Anno 1720, where, having my accusers face to face, I refuted very fully the calumnies which had been cast upon me, and the Synod did by a unanimous vote declare them to be groundless.

At that Synod, misunderstandings which had arisen to some height among the brethren in the North, gave occasion to the making of an Act, commonly called the Pacific Act, in which a clause was inserted requiring all Intrants into the Ministry among us (who have not subscribed) to subscribe the Westminster Confession of Faith, as the confession of their faith, though they have been licensed or ordained elsewhere. This clause, as a certain gentleman afterwards in a very public manner acknowledged, was contrived with a view to exclude me from the work of the ministry in my native country; because, as he said, he knew me to deny the authority of the Church to require, as a term of communion, a subscription to Creeds or Confessions of Faith, though at the same time he did me the justice to own that he was fully satisfied concerning my orthodoxy.

* *Irish Unitarian Magazine* for 1847, p. 174.

† MS. *Minutes* of Synod; Wodrow *Correspondence*, vol. iii.; Appendix to Duchal's Funeral Sermon for Abernethy; Reid's *History* and MS. *Catalogue*; *Bible Christian* for 1836.

Indeed, it is probable, that by the above-mentioned clause he intended to exclude me in particular ; for it was well known that I had been licensed in Holland, Anno 1706, and ordained at Geneva in 1708—at which place I chose to be ordained, because the terms of Church communion there are not narrowed by any human impositions. . . .

But whatever were the views of that gentleman, that clause was drawn up in such a manner as not to reach me, for it mentioned only *Intrants into the Ministry among us* ; whereas my charge was then in this kingdom, and in the year 1712 I had been received a Member of the General Synod, as though I had been licensed or ordained in the kingdom.

Nevertheless, the Synod having afterwards recommended to me the call from Belfast, where I had a comfortable prospect of usefulness, I was, by the earnest solicitations of my friends, prevailed with to embrace it ; though this was very contrary to my own interest. But not daring to submit to terms of communion, by which, as I apprehended, those might be excluded, whom Jesus Christ has received and commanded us to receive, and being willing to do all that I could with a good conscience for cultivating peace and love with my brethren, I drew up a paper in these words : “ I sincerely believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the only rule of revealed religion, a sufficient test of orthodoxy, or soundness in the faith, and to settle all the terms of ministerial and Christian communion, to which nothing may be added by any Synod, Assembly, or Council whatsoever ; and I find all the essential Articles of the Christian doctrine to be contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith ; which Articles I receive upon the sole authority of the Holy Scriptures.” And the Presbytery of Belfast, having perused this paper, thought fit to receive me into their Association as Pastor of the Old Congregation of Belfast, though four members of that Presbytery protested against their resolution.

I then thought that the difficulties, arising from my scruples concerning the unlawfulness of submitting to unscriptural terms of communion, were surmounted, and that notwithstanding them, I might hope to continue in the peaceful exercise of my ministry. But the North of Ireland was soon filled with clamours against those who had voted for receiving me to ministerial communion, without such a subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith, as in the opinion of some they were obliged to require.

Though, as I apprehend, this affair did not come regularly before the General Synod at Belfast, 1721, yet they would not be diverted from asking me “ whether I did adhere to the assent I had given to the Westminster Confession of Faith, when licensed at Rotterdam ? ” I did all that I could to prevent the putting of that question in an authoritative way, and earnestly begged leave to reply to the gentleman who first proposed it. Had this been done, I thought that I might have returned a satisfying answer

to it, in a consistency with my avowed principles, concerning the sole legislative authority of Christ as King of the Church, and the indispensable obligation of Christians to extend their communion to all who in every place call upon the Lord Jesus.

But when the question was put in an authoritative way, so as to carry in it the air of an inquisition upon me, after that I had preached the Gospel faithfully, though in much weakness, for the space of thirteen years, the answer which I gave was in these words: "My refusal to declare my adherence to the assent I gave to the Westminster Confession of Faith, when I was licensed, does not proceed from my disbelief of the important truths contained in it. But my scruples are against submitting to human tests of Divine truths, especially in a great number of extra-essential points, without the knowledge and belief of which men may be entitled to the favour of God and the hope of eternal life, and, according to the laws of the Gospel, to Christian and ministerial communion in the Church, when imposed as a necessary term of such communion. The reasons of which scruples I am now ready to lay before this Assembly, and shall always be open to conviction."—Preface to *Reasons against the Imposition*.

REASONS AGAINST THE IMPOSITION OF SUBSCRIPTION.

Though the reasons, for which I conscientiously refuse to submit to the imposition of subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith, when this is required as a necessary term of Church communion, are many and various, yet they may all be reduced to these four general heads:—

First, I do not find that Jesus Christ, the great King and Lawgiver of the Christian Church, has made any such law, neither that He has given to any fallible Assembly, Synod, or Council a proper authority to make new laws for His subjects, and to appoint new terms of Church communion which He has not required.

Secondly, The Ecclesiastical Canon, by which that subscription is made a term of communion, appears to me to be contrary to the rights, which Jesus Christ has expressly granted to His subjects, and to some of the plainest and not the least important laws which He has enacted.

Thirdly, That Canon appears to me to be a very bad one, because there are other laws of God, which in my humble opinion men are by it tempted to violate; though I will not say that it is directly repugnant to those laws.

Fourthly, I do not see how Protestant Dissenters can agree to, or seem to obey, the Ecclesiastical Canon, to which I refuse submission, without involving themselves in very shameful and glaring inconsistencies.—*Reasons against Imposition*, pp. 15, 16.

HIS REPUDIATION OF ARIANISM.

When I was at Hanover, September, 1719, being traduced as an Arian, or at least as a favourer of Dr. Clarke's scheme, these proofs of my innocence were in my absence, and without my knowledge, laid before the Presbytery of Belfast :—

First, A Letter of mine to the Reverend Mr. Kirkpatrick, dated "London, April 18th, 1719," in which I say, "The Dissenting Ministers in and about London are agreed, that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are one and the same eternal God; and I am persuaded that this doctrine is well supported by Scripture evidence."

Secondly, A Letter written by me to an Hon. Gentleman in the North of Ireland, dated "London, April 30th, 1719," in which I say, that, "Indeed, I think it so evident from Scripture, that the Father, the Word, and the Spirit are the same eternal God, that I am not under any apprehensions of the prevailing of Arianism amongst us."

Thirdly, A Letter written by the Rev. Mr. Robert Craghead to the Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick, dated "Dublin, Oct. 15th, 1719," in which are the following words concerning me: "When he was here (Anno 1718), I had occasion to discourse with him several times about the debates now on foot in England, and he declared himself more than once in very express terms against the Arian doctrine, and especially against Mr. Clarke's new system, which has made so much noise of late."

Fourthly, A Certificate by the Rev. Mr. Samuel Harper [Moir] dated "October 19th, 1719," in these words: "I do hereby certify that the Rev. Mr. Samuel Haliday, jun., in a conference between me and him at Anahilt, where our Presbytery met in or about 1718, did in express terms declare his opinion to be entirely opposite to Arianism, and that he did so, not in a single sentence or overly expression, but in a series of discourse and solid reasoning on that head."

Fifthly, Three other Testimonies to the same purpose were at the same time laid before the Presbytery of Belfast, one by a gentleman who is since dead, and the other by two gentlemen of great probity and strict honour, whose names are known to the said Presbytery.

Though the Presbytery of Belfast was by these evidences persuaded of my innocency, yet that they might discover their impartiality and diligence in inquiring into an affair of that importance, they wrote a letter, dated "Belfast, November 19th, 1719," to eight of the most celebrated Dissenting Ministers in London, of whom four had been subscribers at Saltershall, and to seven of whom I had the happiness to be intimately known, acquainting them with the charge which had been brought against me, and desiring them to meet together, and to consult of the best measures for inquiring into it, by an impartial exami-

nation of all evidences on either side, that the truth being found out, the Presbytery might regulate their own conduct by it. In this, and indeed in the whole management of this affair, the Presbytery took an equitable and Christian method of issuing scandal, which I gratefully acknowledge. In December following, the eight London Ministers returned an answer to that letter, in which they assured the Presbytery of Belfast "that from the conversation which several of them had with me, and from the sermons which they had heard me preach, they had sufficient reason to believe me to be orthodox in the article of the Saviour's Deity, and that they all believed the charge which had been brought against me to be entirely false and groundless." I have not at present a copy of that letter, and do not say these are the words which they use; but I dare appeal to yourself whether I have not fairly represented the meaning of them.

Together with this letter I wrote one to the Moderator of the Presbytery of Belfast, in which are the following words: "I now gladly embrace the opportunity of declaring to you that I do not believe that the Logos or Word of God, spoken of in the beginning of St. John's Gospel, is a Being created in time, which I take to be Arianism; nor yet that it is a Being produced by the will of the Father, which I take to be Dr. Clarke's notion; but on the contrary, my notion is that the Word and the Spirit of God are one and the same supreme eternal God with the Father. And I consequently believe, that the Word being made, flesh, our Redeemer became the true Immanuel, God with us; forasmuch as in Him, that is to say, in His human nature, all the fulness of the Godhead dwelleth bodily."—*Letter to Kennedy*, pp. 45—48.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THOMAS KENNEDY (1700—1746),

MINISTER OF BRIGH IN THE CO. TYRONE.

1. A Sermon preached before the General Synod at Dungannon, June 18, 1723. 18mo., pp. 27. [Ps. cxxxiii. 1.] *Belfast*, 1723. A. L. E.
2. Reply to Mr. Aprichard. 1739.

THE father of Mr. Kennedy of Brigh, whose name also was Thomas Kennedy, was Minister of Carland prior to the Revolution, and elder brother of the Rev. Gilbert Kennedy of Dundonald (see ch. xxxi.). Tradition tells an interesting story of his sufferings for refusing to conform. He was imprisoned in Dungannon for some years on an order from the Primate of Armagh. His wife went to visit him daily, but being daily refused permission to see or even write to him, she left food and changes of linen for his use. After his release, it was discovered that the jailor, instead of giving these good things to the prisoner, constantly appropriated them to himself, and treated the worthy Minister with unnecessary harshness. Years afterwards, a beggar came to the Minister's door one day, seeking alms. Beneath the squalid robes, the mistress of the house, with a woman's keen perception, recognised the jailor, who long ago had been so barbarous in his treatment of her husband. He too recognised her and quailed, and still more so when she left him hastily and ran upstairs, for he did not know what form the revenge of a deeply injured

woman might assume. But fear gave way to surprise, and let us hope to remorse, when he saw her return and pour a large dishful of meal into his wallet, and heard her say in a quiet and serious manner, "This is my way of revenge."

In the troubles of 1689, Mr. Kennedy, like most of the other Ministers of Ulster, thought it expedient to cross the Channel for a time. He returned from Scotland after the country had quieted down, and from 1693 down till 1714 was Minister of a congregation which was afterwards broken up into the congregations of Carland, Donoghmore, and Dungannon. He died in 1714.

His son, Thomas Kennedy, junior, was ordained Minister of Brigh on November 6, 1700. At a meeting of the Synod of Ulster, held in Londonderry on June 19, 1722, and which was attended by 111 Ministers, 85 Elders, and four corresponding members from the Southern Presbytery of Dublin, he was chosen to the honourable office of Moderator. This Synod, like its predecessor at Belfast, made a strong declaration of its adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith, but expressed a desire to exercise charity and forbearance to the N.S. Ministers, and counselled their congregations to adhere to them so far as their consciences would permit. It was this vacillating policy, this attempting to skin over sores which could not be healed, that called forth another vigorous protest from Matthew Clerk (see ch. xxxiii.), in which he was now joined by Stirling of Ballykelly and Neil of Ballyrashane, and that prepared the way for the separation of 1726.

The following Synod met in Dungannon on June 18, 1723, and was opened with a Sermon preached by Mr. Kennedy on Psalm cxxxiii. 1, which was subsequently published.

The only other production of Kennedy is his *Reply to Aprichard*. Mr. Aprichard was a Probationer, who, upon his receiving a call to the congregation of Mourne in 1738, refused to sign the Confession of

Faith, and who, when he saw that the Synod would not permit his ordination, withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Synod. This gentleman published a *Narrative* of his case in 1739; and Mr. Kennedy, who had taken a leading part against him in the Synod, replied to this *Narrative*.

Mr. Kennedy died on July 3, 1746. His brother, the Rev. John Kennedy, Minister of Benburb (1714—1761), was great-grandfather by the mother's side to the Rev. William Kennedy McKay of Portglenone.*

HOW TO PRESERVE UNITY.

Heretofore the Church hath been blessed with remarkable unity, though it hath got some shocks; and if it be the Lord's will to prevent any more, I would humbly propose a few things to preserve what remains and is ready to die. And first, we should carefully avoid two extremes which have been already run into, and which instead of uniting the Church must always tend to rend her in pieces. The first is an imposing spirit; I do not mean as to moral duties, for there can be no sinful imposition of these, unless it be by unreasonable requiring them: but I mean imposition of those things which are indifferent in their own nature and uncommanded. This evil early sprang up in the Church, and hath at last arrived at the height of tyranny in the Man of Sin, who now as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God, as was foretold of him (2 Thess. ii. 4). This anti-Christian spirit is contrary to our known principles, set forth in that excellent abridgment of them, commonly called the Westminster Confession. But this unhappy extreme into which the Church was early led, hath driven some men to another as pernicious to truth—a unity which is by some called a catholic or rather blind charity. This scheme was chiefly approved and insisted on by Arminians against the Synod of Dort, and by some Socinians against the Westminster Assembly, and now again after a long interment revived.—*Sermon*, p. 25.†

* MS. *Minutes* of Synod of Ulster; Reid's *History* and MS. *Catalogue*; McKay's *Mystero-Hermoneusis*, Introduction.

† Copied by Professor Croskery from the original in the Advocates' Library.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE SUB-SYNOD OF DERRY (1724).

1. *A Seasonable Warning* from the Synod of Londonderry, met May 12, 1724, to the several Congregations within their bounds, against the errors and immoralities of the present age. 12mo., pp. 12. 1724. A. L. E.

THIS excellent Address, says Dr. Reid (*History*, vol. iii., ch. xxv., p. 175), "was widely circulated, and tended to quiet the apprehensions of the people, and to satisfy them that a large body of ministers and elders were firm in upholding the doctrines and constitution of the Church." The North-west of Ulster was at this time sound in the faith; it was not till near the close of the century that it showed evident symptoms of spiritual declension and defection from the truth.

FOUNDATION PRINCIPLES.

Know therefore that they who distinguish away the supreme Deity and perfect satisfaction of our Lord Jesus Christ, sap the foundations of our whole religion, and turn it to a mere shadow. We would also warn you that conscience ought not to be made the rule and foundation of faith and obedience, forasmuch as even the mind and conscience is by nature defiled. We earnestly obtest you to regard the Spirit of God speaking to us in the sacred Scriptures as the rule and foundation of faith and obedience.—*Warning*, p. 6.

THE LORD'S DAY.

We intreat you to take care that the Lord's-day be sanctified, the rather because the morality of that holy day is by some

called in question in this degenerate age, in consequence of which loose and false doctrines, many by sinful travelling on the Lord's-day, and others, by absenting from the public worship of God or profaning it by idleness when the public worship is over, rob our great Creator and Sovereign Lawgiver of that short space of time He has challenged for His holy service.—*Warning*, p. 9.*

* Both of these extracts were copied for me by Professor Crockery from the original in the Advocates' Library.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THOMAS NEVIN, M.A. (1711—1744),

MINISTER OF DOWNPATRICK.

1. A *Letter* to the Reverend Mr. William Smith of Ballee [dated June 11, 1724.] pp. 12. *Belfast*, 1724.
2. *The Trial* of Thomas Nevin, M.A., Pastor of a Church of the Presbyterian Denomination in Downpatrick, before the General Synod, which met at Dungannon, June the 16th, 1724, and was continued by several adjournments to the 26th of that month; containing Mr. Nevin's Letter for which he was processed, the libel against him, his answer to it laid before the Synod, their proceedings on five articles of the libel—particularly their new inquisitory discipline on the fifth article, reasons of the protestation of divers worthy Ministers and Elders against their inquisitory and exclusive decisions, and general observations on the whole Trial. Faithfully collected from the Minutes of the Synod, and other authentic vouchers, and published by the said Thomas Nevin. 12mo., pp. xxiv. and 255. *Belfast*, 1725. M. C. D.
3. A *Review* of Mr. Nevin's Trial before the Synod in 1724, occasioned by Mr. McBride's few thoughts in defence of the Synod contained in his Pamphlet, entitled "Overtures transmitted," etc. pp. 96. *Belfast*, 1728. A. C. B.

OF the early history of THOMAS NEVIN, I have been able to ascertain nothing. While he was a Probationer he spent a part of the year 1709 in Dublin: and it is not improbable that the sympathy felt for the sufferings of Emlyn (see ch. xv.), whose case was then still fresh in the Nonconformist circles of the metropolis, may have given him an unconscious bend in the direction of the principles, with which his name came in course of time to be associated.

He was ordained Minister of Downpatrick on the

20th of November, 1711. When the controversy excited by the Belfast Society, began to disturb the Church, and to raise popular suspicions against the Ministers, he was one of those who at the Synod of 1721 made strong profession of faith in the Deity of Christ. It seems, however, that he was in the habit of speaking in mixed companies upon religious matters in a very loose unguarded way; and it was an indiscretion of this sort which brought him into trouble, and a sin of the tongue which won for him an unenviable celebrity. The story is told so accurately by Dr. Reid (*History*, ch. xxv.), that there is no necessity for giving more than a mere outline of it here.

From the thoughtless way in which he was accustomed to speak about the Deity of the Son of God, it appears that one Mr. Ecklin of Bangor, a member of the Episcopal Church, had charged Nevin with being an Arian; at which he affected to be so much offended, that he entered an action against Ecklin in the civil courts. While the defendant was looking about for evidence to sustain him in the suit, it came to his knowledge that Captain Hannyngton of Moneyrea, with two others, had sworn an affidavit before Mr. Simon Isaac, a magistrate at Comber, to the effect that Mr. Nevin in their company had said, "That it is no blasphemy to say Christ is not God." A copy of this affidavit was sent to Mr. Nevin by the Rev. William Smith of Ballee, and on the 11th of June, 1724, Mr. Nevin addressed a letter to Mr. Smith, in which he explained the circumstances in which he had used the expressions. The substance of the explanation was, that for Jews who deny His Messiahship to say that Christ is not God, is not such a case of blasphemy as to call for punishment from the civil magistrate. The explanation would have been satisfactory enough, had he not rashly introduced into his letter some irreverent expressions, which drew suspicion on himself, and gave serious offence to his brethren. In apologizing for one slip, he was so thoughtless as to make another.

A few days after this letter made its appearance, the General Synod of 1724 met at Dungannon. The hot feeling between the S.S. and N.S.S. had for some years been rising to such a pitch of intensity, that a very small matter indeed was needed to cause the latent heat to burst out into a flame. The *Letter to Smith* furnished the occasion. It was circulated at the Synod and got into the hands of the members. Attention was called to the document by Mr. Henry of Sligo (see ch. xxi.), and forthwith a Committee was appointed to examine it, and to draw out a libel or accusation founded on its statements. The Committee did its work badly. It confounded the genuineness of the affidavit which Mr. Nevin admitted, with the truth of its statements which he denied: it characterized Mr. Nevin's explanation of his own language as an "evasion": and it represented him as saying that he was sorry that he had made a profession of faith in the supreme Deity of Christ in the Synod of 1721, whereas he had said something very different. Of the six articles of impeachment, there were two only for which there were just grounds: and these two were of such a kind as not to call for any extreme and irregular action on the part of the Court—namely, that the language of the *Letters* sounded "harsh in pious ears," and that he had not treated "the important subject of conversation with that gravity and seriousness that becomes a Gospel Minister."

Had the Synod found the libel relevant, that is, a fit subject for ecclesiastical procedure, the regular course would have been to transmit the case to the Presbytery of Down, with instructions to deal with it according to the laws of the Church. But it was decided to proceed with the trial then and there. Mr. Nevin admitted the authorship of the letter. He was furnished with a copy of the libel, and time was afforded him to prepare a written answer. The answer proved to be very elaborate, and it was read at full length in open court. Each article of the libel

was then taken up in its order; the accusation and the answer were read, and a discussion on the subject followed. The Synod, when advanced too far to recede, made the discovery that it was not then in a position to decide the various subjects which came up; and after wasting a great amount of time in useless debate, it was agreed to refer the first article to the Presbytery of Down, to be investigated and decided in the locality where the affair originated and where evidence could be obtained. The same course was taken in regard to the second and third articles. The consideration of the fourth article, after another long debate, was passed over without coming to any decision. When it came to the fifth article, the conductors of the prosecution altered their tactics, and in spite of all that the N.S.S. could do to the contrary, carried a resolution to the effect that Mr. Nevin then and there should, in obedience to the call of the Synod, declare his belief in the supreme Deity of the Lord Jesus Christ. This was practically deciding that the defendant should be requested to do what it was well known he would not do, for he had repeatedly declared that he considered it sinful to subject himself to a species of inquisition, which appeared to him repugnant to the rules of equity and to the discipline established by Christ in His Church. He was forthwith called upon to make the declaration required. He absolutely refused to comply. Thereupon the Synod immediately stopped the trial, and agreed to decline all ministerial communion with him.

The effect of this decision of course was to exclude Mr. Nevin from the Church courts, but to leave him in full possession of the status, functions, and emoluments of a Minister. The other N.S.S. were not excluded from the Synod for two years after; but he was no more guilty than they, and it was a little harsh certainly to withdraw from his fellowship and not from that of his brethren. Early in the following year he published the bulky volume, standing number two on the list of his works, in which he gives the official

documents and the course of procedure, and the substance of the arguments employed in this extraordinary trial, and which, if any proof were needed, furnish an irresistible demonstration how utterly incompetent any large public body is to conduct a trial, to investigate the minute particulars that are submitted in evidence, and to arrive at an impartial decision in any but in hap-hazard fashion.

The defence of the action of the Synod in McBride's *Overtures set in a Clear Light* (see ch. xxvii.) gave Mr. Nevin the opportunity of returning to this celebrated trial, and of repeating his accusations against the Synod—an opportunity which he did not fail to embrace. His *Review of the Trial* appeared in 1728. To the loose and unguarded statements of McBride he replied in a keen and caustic style, and with such an air of contempt and bitterness, as showed how sensitive he was to the chastisement which the Synod had so summarily inflicted. It does not appear that he came again before the public as an author.

The severity with which Mr. Nevin was treated, was, after all, more apparent than real. He suffered no loss whatever, except the loss of a seat in the Church courts—a privilege which, considering what had happened, he could not value very highly. His congregation at Downpatrick adhered to him the more steadily, owing to their belief that he had not been treated well: and the failure of an attempt to start a new and rival congregation in the town in connexion with the Synod, must have brought him consolation. Two years after, the exclusion of the whole Presbytery of Antrim, as the N.S.S. were then called, supplied him with companions in trouble, with whom he could renew ecclesiastical intercourse of a congenial kind.

Mr. Nevin died in 1744. "He was," says Dr. Montgomery in his *Outlines of Presbyterianism*, "succeeded in the congregation of Down by his son and grandson, who were both distinguished by zeal and talent in support of religious liberty and truth; but I lament

to say that all their direct descendants have forsaken the paths on which their fathers so honourably trod, and are now connected with creed-bound churches.”*

ORIGINAL AFFIDAVIT.

Com. Down. SS.

WE do declare that in or about December, 1723, Mr. Thomas Nevin was at the house of Capt. William Hannyngton, in Monyrea, when and where much being said concerning the Magistrate's power in punishing the offenders against the Second Table of the Law, the said Mr. Nevin did positively say, that it is no blasphemy to say Christ is not God.

WILLIAM HANNYNGTON.

THOMAS KENNEDY.

SOLOMON MACBRIDE.

Jur. cor. me 27 die Maii

Apud Cumber in Com. praedict.

SIMON ISAAC.

MR. NEVIN'S EXPLANATION.

The whole conversation that has the least reference to what this extraordinary Affidavit contains, was occasioned by my mentioning that Article of the W.C. of Faith, where it is asserted to be a branch of the Civil Magistrate's power to suppress all blasphemies (chap. xxiii., § 3). And this the Affidavit does clearly insinuate to have been the occasion of what is therein charged upon me. I alleged that this assertion as supported by the text quoted for in proof (Lev. xxiv. 16) might be of dangerous consequence; for it plainly vested the Magistrate with a power to knock all o' the head, who by any means might be reputed blasphemers. And to illustrate the danger of this, I gave for an instance the case of the Jews, and said to this effect that Christians generally reckoned them guilty of blasphemy for denying Christ to be God, and observed that the wickedness and absurdity of treating them according to that article might at once appear from this demonstration: "That in Scripture we had very express prophecies, that the Jews shall be converted to the Christian faith, which must be rendered utterly impossible, if whenever they come among us Christians they were sure to be put to death, as soon as they presumed to deny our blessed Saviour to be God." This argument was cavilled at; and I was

* MS. *Minutes of Synod of Ulster, and of Presbytery of Down; Nevin's Works; Wodrow Correspondence*, vol. iii., Letter 79; Reid's *History; Irish Unitarian Magazine* for 1847.

asked if it was not a sin or error in them to do so. To which I readily replied : It was no doubt a sin and error in them, but not such as made them obnoxious to punishment from the secular powers. And then I was urged—Was it not blasphemy in them to deny Christ to be God ? To which I answered, and no doubt I repeated it again, that *it was no blasphemy IN THEM to deny Christ to be God.* It was upon this occasion that the gentleman of the house asked me that wise question : Was it not blasphemy to call Christ a creature ? To which I made what seemed to be the fittest reply for his depth and understanding : “No, sure it’s not, for don’t we all own Christ to be God and man ?” But yet to my surprise [that] passed with him for as rank heresy as ever was broached, and “vexed his righteous soul.” Accordingly, when this matter began first to be bruited abroad, this was made the severest charge against me. And when I went to his house to complain of the uncivil usage I received from him and his servant, he then renewed this very charge, and still continues to make a heavy outcry on this head against me and the worthy gentleman who happened to call with me at his house, because the gentleman laboured to convince him, that what I said about Christ’s being a creature, as He is man, was perfectly right and orthodox.

* * * * *

To conclude, sir, I despair of satisfying any concerning my soundness of that point of our Saviour’s Deity, who are not already satisfied by the testimony which was given by the General Synod, 1721, in favour of all the non-subscribers, viz., that they had all declared their belief of that doctrine in the strongest terms. And I am convinced that all who read this letter, will find that there is no reason from the conversation, to which the Affidavit now handed about relates, to suspect that I was insincere in what I then voluntarily expressed, or that I have since altered my sentiments on that head.

We are indeed charged by the Rev. Mr. Mastertown with having acted inconsistently with our known principles, by the condescension which we made upon that occasion. We were then of opinion that we had a sufficient salvo for the principles we had espoused concerning the rights of men and Christians. But I must freely own it, that I account all inquisitory methods to be so contrary to the essential rules of natural equity, to the discipline which Christ has instituted in His Church, and even to the known rules of our association, that, if what we did in that juncture gives any countenance to an unjust and unchristian method of issuing scandal, I, for my part, am sorry that ever I gave way to it, and shall for the future take care that no temptation whatsoever shall make me venture so far again.—*Letter to Smith of Ballee.*

FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE LIBEL PREPARED BY THE SYNODICAL COMMITTEE.

Fifthly, we beg leave to observe, that though he [Mr. Nevin] owns he made a confession of our Saviour's Deity before the General Synod, 1721, yet he says, that *for his part he is sorry that ever he gave way to it, and shall for the future take care that no temptation whatsoever shall make him venture so far again.*—*Trial*, p. 30.

EXTRACT FROM MR. NEVIN'S ANSWER READ IN SYNOD.

The non-subscribers being charged with having acted inconsistently with our known principles by the condescens we made in the Synod 1721, I only put this supposition, that "if what we did in that juncture gives any countenance to an unjust and unchristian method of issuing scandal," in that case then I declare, indeed, that "for my part I am sorry I gave way to it, and shall for the future take care that no temptation whatsoever shall make me venture so far again." Now, pray what is the IT I gave way to, or the so FAR I determined never to venture myself again? Is it not *giving countenance to an unjust and unchristian method of issuing scandal?* Sure, if the Committee will now plead they meant no more (and is it not manifest that these words have not the least reference to the confession I had made of our Saviour's Deity, farther than my doing so might be found in those or like circumstances to "give countenance to an unjust and unchristian method of issuing scandal"?) is it not my turn to expostulate with them, how came this to be matter of offence? Here it is plain I declare and speak only upon *supposition*, that *if it did so*, why then I own *I am sorry for giving way to it*; and thus declaring upon a bare supposition is become terrible ground of offence.

But if it will help out the Committee in this pinch, I shan't stop to own I am determined never to yield so far again to any *inquisitory* methods upon any truth whatsoever. Every one is alike to me in this case; if I were squeezed in the same unmerciful way to purge myself of any error, as well as of the denying the supreme Deity of Christ, I would act the very same part I shall do now.—*Trial*, p. 70.

ACTION OF THE SYNOD ON THE FIFTH ARTICLE.

Then the Fifth Article of the Complaint against Mr. N. was read, and he read his answer. And the Managers replied, and after reasoning it was moved by the Managers, that Mr. N. should make a declaration of his belief of the supreme Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they alleged that his making such a declaration would be for the glory of God, the edification of this Church, and would in a great measure remove the offence

he had given. This motion was reasoned a long time ; and Mr. N. declined to comply with it. . . . [The motion having been carried by a large majority,] Mr. N. was then called, and the Moderator required him for the glory of God, the edification of this Church, and his own vindication to make a declaration of his belief of the supreme Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and Mr. N. gave in his answer in these words :—

“Before I went out I declared it to be my judgment, that to make any such declaration in my present circumstances, when I was under prosecution as if I maintained the contrary error, was directly sinful. I am still of the same opinion, and therefore must utterly refuse to comply with what is now required of me, it being my absolute duty to obey God rather than man. But I hope this Rev. Synod will still remember that I professed this was not from any disbelief of that doctrine of the supreme Deity of Christ.”

Many members of the Synod moved that in regard Mr. N. refused to make any declaration of his belief of the supreme Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they have not freedom to sit in the Synod with him, or to be any further concerned in his trial. Mr. N. was heard, and after reasoning a question was offered, “Seeing Mr. N. has refused to make a declaration of his belief of the supreme Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, when demanded by this Synod, whether we of this Synod shall have any further Ministerial Communion with him the said Mr. N., and proceed any further in his trial or not ?” And the question being put, it carried Not by a great majority.

Mr. Kirkpatrick dissented from and protested against this Resolution, and desired that his dissent and protestation may be entered into our records. And Mr. Abernethy, Mr. Michael Bruce, Mr. Haliday, Mr. Thomas Maclaine, Mr. Thomas Wilson, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Clugston, Mr. Harper, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Donaldson, Mr. Archibald Maclaine, jun., *Ministers* ; and Col. Brice, Capt. Macculloch, Pat. Getty, and John Hawthorn, *Elders*, joined in the dissent and protestation. And they think themselves bound by the laws of the Gospel to maintain Ministerial Communion with Mr. N. ; notwithstanding the Resolution of this Synod excluding him, which they look upon as unjust and unwarrantable, because convicted of no scandal. Mr. N. was called in, and the sentence of the Synod intimated to him.—*Extract from Synod's Minutes, given in Nevin's Trial*, pp. 153—156.

CHAPTER XL.

MICHAEL BRUCE (1711—1735),

MINISTER OF HOLYWOOD.

The *Duty of Christians* to live together in religious communion recommended. In a Sermon preached at Belfast, January 5th, 1724-5, before the sub-Synod, on Rom. xv. 7. 12mo., pp. 35. *Belfast*, 1725. A. C. B.

MICHAEL BRUCE was the son of the Rev. James Bruce, Minister of Killileagh (1685—1730), and grandson of the celebrated Michael Bruce of Killinchy, who suffered so many hardships for Presbyterianism in the reign of Charles II. (see ch. v.). He received the benefits of a liberal education, and on the 27th of October, 1708, he was licensed to preach the Gospel, after subscribing the following document, which we extract from the MS. Minutes of the Presbytery of Down :—

“At Downpatrick, October 27th, 1708. I, who subscribe hereto, do own and acknowledge the Confession of Faith, agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, to be the confession of my faith, and do solemnly declare that I believe the government of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland to be agreeable to the word of God, and do promise subjection thereunto, and that I shall not either directly or indirectly endeavour the subversion thereof, nor follow any divisive courses all the days of my life. This I confess, declare, and subscribe in the presence of the Presbytery of Down. “MICHAEL BRUCE.”

On the 10th of October, 1711, Mr. Bruce was ordained as Minister of Holywood. Though his venerable father sympathized with the majority of the

Synod in their attachment to the Westminster Confession, and though he himself had signed it on his entrance to the ministry, he sided with the minority in their attempt to persuade the Church to discard it, and was the first of his family—long so honourably associated with the Presbyterian cause—to depart from the ways of orthodoxy.

In 1725 he preached before the sub-Synod of Belfast a sermon, which was subsequently published. It is the only one of his productions that was given to the press. It is a discourse, cold, clear, rational, and, like most of the non-subscribing publications of the time, is distinguished for powerfully enforcing upon the Subscribers the duties which they were to perform to their opponents, and for omitting to enforce upon the non-subscribers the duties which they owed to the truth and to their brethren.

Mr. Bruce in 1726 retired from the Synod of Ulster, in common with his brethren of the Presbytery of Antrim. The result of this proceeding was, that many of his hearers forsook his ministry, and formed a new congregation, now known as First Holywood on the Roll of the General Assembly. The effect of this secession on his income was so serious, that the rich non-subscribing laity of Belfast were obliged to devise means for supplementing it.

This worthy Minister died on the 1st of December, 1735. His friend, the Rev. Samuel Haliday, preached his *Funeral Sermon*, which was afterwards published (see ch. xxxvi., No. 5). He mentions in it that Mr. Bruce's mind was calm at the approach of death, and fully resigned to the will of God; that he desired the members of his congregation to be admitted to see him in small companies, that from his dying bed he might give them his last advice; and that, while he was able to use his tongue, it was occupied in praising God. Duchal, in the appendix to his sermon on the death of Abernethy, speaks of Bruce as a man of clear judgment, of cogent reasoning, and of great modesty, and as possessed of what is now justly regarded as

a rare quality, namely, that "he never spoke without having something to say." *

DIFFERENCES NO BAR TO COMMUNION.

We may indeed aggravate our differences, and by drawing consequences from one another's opinions, and charging them upon one another, though we do not see and though we abhor such consequences as are charged upon us, represent them as very great and momentous. And so might the Christians in Rome have done; the Gentiles might have charged the Jews with a design to bring them under that yoke of bondage which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear, and as despising the grace of the Gospel, and as saying in effect that Christ profited them nothing; and the Jews on the other hand might have charged the Gentiles with denying the authority of the Old Testament, and that they would break through the restraints of the Divine Law. But the Apostle sets their differences in a juster light, when he represents both parties as sincerely endeavouring to be accepted of God: "He that regardeth a day, regardeth it to the Lord; and he that regardeth not a day, to the Lord he doth not regard it," etc. And may not the same be justly said of our differences? Are not both parties endeavouring to keep a good conscience, and to be accepted of our Lord and Master? God forbid that any of us should think otherwise. And should not this consideration weigh with us, and make us embrace one another as fellow-Christians? The Apostle, you may observe, puts the differences among the Christians to whom he writes, in the most reconciling view he could with justice, which teacheth us our duty, and that it is no Christian office to aggravate and heighten differences among brethren. Let us look upon our differences in the view the Apostle has taught us to place them in, and our spirits will cool, and our resentments fall.

But it may be said: Shall we join with men in their errors? that were to partake of other men's sins, and to show too small a regard for truth. I answer: What does the Apostle here recommend? Does he not require the Gentile Christians, after he had told them they were in the right, to receive the Jewish Christians, though in an error? If by joining with men in their errors, he meant being obliged to embrace and profess their errors, this is quite out of the scheme; for the Apostle allowed neither the one nor the other to make the things wherein they differed, terms of communion for one another. All that is re-

* MS. *Minutes* of the Presbytery of Down; Haliday's *Funeral Sermon*; Duchal's Appendix; Reid's *History* and MS. *Catalogue*.

quired, is that we receive our fellow-Christians, notwithstanding we may think them in an error; and should we think that a hardship, who yet expect to be accepted of God, notwithstanding many errors and mistakes which may cleave to us? And the best and most knowing have reason to suspect they have many errors, notwithstanding all their knowledge. Should we insist upon harder terms with our brethren, of admitting them as fellow-members of the Church of Christ, than we expect God will insist on with us, of admitting us into heaven? And can we think that our obeying a plain law of Christ, in receiving whom He receives, will make us partakers of other men's errors or sins? I have said enough to prove that the Apostle's exhortation reacheth us, and is applicable to our circumstances; and therefore, dear Brethren, let us be exhorted to lay aside all shyness and distance, and to receive one another into our sincerest love and friendship, and to join together as we have opportunity in the worship of God, and in all the institutions of our religion, to our mutual edification and comfort.—*Duty of Christians*, pp. 23--25.

CHAPTER XLI.

JOHN ELDER, M.A. (1723—1779),

MINISTER OF AGHADOWEY.

1. *Reasons for Moderation* in the present debates amongst Presbyterians in the North of Ireland. 12mo., pp. 108. *Belfast*, 1725. M. C. D.
2. *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Robert McBride*, occasioned by his pretending to defend Mr. Elder's suspension, and by divers injurious reflections cast upon Mr. Elder in his late pamphlet, entitled *The Overtures transmitted, etc.* pp. 46. *Belfast*, 1727.

JOHN ELDER was born in 1692. On the 7th of May, 1723, he was ordained in Aghadowey, in succession to the Rev. James McGregor, who some years before had emigrated with a considerable portion of his congregation, in order to found the town of Londonderry in the New England colony of America.

The first meeting of the Synod of Ulster, in which Elder sat as a member, was occupied with the case of Mr. Nevin of Downpatrick (see ch. xxxix.). The manifest injustice of that whole proceeding made an impression upon his mind, and although he was favourable to orthodox opinions as such, yet the management of the trial—the preponderance of numbers bearing down ability and eloquence—gave him a bias in favour of those whom he thought so harshly used. He did not vote on the occasion; nor does he seem to have taken into account the behaviour of Haliday in setting the law of the Synod at defiance, nor the amount of forbearance which the Synod had

shown without effect, nor the amount of provocation it had received. He saw only a part of the matter, and that part the least favourable to the majority. When he returned from Dungannon, instead of exemplifying the modesty and silence becoming his inexperience as a member of Synod, he spoke rather freely of the late Synodical proceedings, denounced the conduct of the majority, and charged even his own Presbytery with partiality. The result was that on the 26th of August, 1724, he was reprov'd, and in the following October suspended, by the Presbytery of Route. On his giving in afterwards a written paper expressing sorrow for his offence, he was restored to his ministerial status, but he does not seem to have ever regained the thorough confidence of his brethren.

In 1725, Mr. Elder published his *Reasons for Moderation*. He takes up therein the position of a Subscriber who holds communion with both parties in the Synod, and who approves of the Charitable Declaration as a sort of middle path. In an Address to the Congregation of Aghadowey, which prefaces his pamphlet, he lets the fact ooze out that this sort of intermediate position, which he had taken up between the orthodox majority and the non-subscribing minority, did not give complete satisfaction at home; that he had to read over to his Elders a draft of his intended publication before it was issued, and that, even after hearing all that he could say, one of them was scarcely satisfied. He claims to be the only one of the majority, who up till then had thoroughly fallen in with and defended the Charitable Declaration. He professes to write in the interests of Christian moderation. He vindicates the N.S.S. from the aspersions cast upon them, and maintains that they cannot be justly charged either with heresy in doctrine or impiety in practice. On the other hand, he professes his willingness to subscribe the Westminster Confession over again, in preference to a creed drawn up in his own words; and can see no inconsistency between this and maintaining ministerial intercourse with

those who refuse to subscribe. He wishes it to be distinctly understood that he does not plead for the principles of the N.S.S., but only for moderate dealing towards them, notwithstanding their principles. What would have been the result of such a course of action as he recommends, none can be ignorant of now. It is seen in the old Presbyterian Church of England; it is seen among the N.S.S. of Ireland. Upon the whole, the majority of the Synod, though not above making mistakes, was a little wiser than Mr. Elder.

The division of 1726 left no further room for moderation, and every Minister was under the necessity of choosing his side. Mr. Elder withdrew from the Synod, and henceforth, along with his congregation, formed a part of the Presbytery of Antrim.

Mr. McBride of Ballymoney, in his pamphlet on the *Overtures*, published in 1726 (see ch. xxvii., No. 2), referred to the circumstances in which Mr. Elder was suspended, and animadverted rather sharply on his neighbour beyond the Bann. In his *Letter to McBride*, published in March, 1727, Elder explains the circumstances of his suspension, and complains strongly of the partiality and injustice with which he had been treated, as he thought, by the majority of the Presbytery. As McBride, for what reason is now unknown, did not choose to notice any of the three antagonists whom his publication called out, we cannot avoid the inference that Elder had some foundation for these complaints.

Mr. Elder lived to be a very old man. He died in the eighty-seventh year of his age, on the 24th of September, 1779. When he died, the congregation, not wishing to perpetuate a schism in which they felt no interest, returned to the Synod of Ulster.*

* Elder's *Reasons for Moderation*; McBride *on the Overtures*; MS. *Minutes of Synod*; Reid's *History*.

MODERATION TOWARDS NON-SUBSCRIBERS.

God is my witness, it was my desire to know and do what is just and right in His eyes; not to frame excuses for the faults of men, nor for any party, after all the odious things they have been charged with by common fame and private whispers. Nay, whatever confident accusations are fixed against some of them by words and oaths from the pulpit and the press, I can't help thinking that they should be treated as faithful ministers of Christ; that moderation towards them is most commendable, and, indeed, what the laws of heaven enjoin us to exercise—at least, this is the duty of every person that hath no better evidence of their guilt than these hinted at, or anything known to me. Should I act otherwise, it would be contrary to what appears to me the will of God, and consequently a most presumptuous sin against my own conscience. I will not spend time in stating the case, which is generally well enough understood, so far as is necessary to my present design, but plainly set down the reasons which determined me to the conduct I declared for; and the judicious reader will easily see they suppose all that has hitherto been objected against the non-subscribers as a cause of censure.

1. There is no law, rule, nor appointment, that those who are already in the office of the ministry among us should declare or prove their faith, by subscribing the Westminster or any other Confession of Faith again.

2. There are several express resolutions of the General Synod, plainly founded on common equity and laws of the Gospel, in favour of the non-subscribers.

3. These men were, and always are, for anything yet proved, of godly conversation, sober, and religious, therefore seem to have as good a title to the promise of knowing Christ's doctrine and of being secured from dangerous errors, as some that are most violent against them.

4. Though there is an accusation now lodged, the trial is not yet ended, nor any sentence regularly passed in judgment against them.

5. All yet owned by the non-subscribers, as far as I know, seems tolerable, and only what the best of saints and most faithful ministers of Christ may hold, without losing their title to His favour (I mean their holding such principles is not a sufficient evidence that they have no title to God's favour), or outward communion with others.—*Reasons*, pp. 3, 4.

THE FAITHFUL MINISTER.

As far as this rule (Matt. vii. 20) respecteth practice, he is a true prophet and faithful minister (at least should be so esteemed by us who know not the hearts of men), who is most devoted to the performance of religious exercises towards God, who is most

frequent and serious in prayer and praises, meditations and pious discourses, whose words savour most of God and His ways; who is most heavenly-minded, and cares least for the pleasures, profits, or honours of this world, and spends least time in seeking after them; but gives his time wholly to reading and study, that he may be apt to teach and watch over his flock to their edification; he that hath the strictest regard to truth in all his words, and justice in all his dealing with others, gives the best proof of his being a good tree in God's garden; who speaks as he thinketh in his heart, and doth as he would be done by; who neither oppresses nor defrauds, nor is influenced by selfish private views to do hurt to his neighbour; who shows no respect of persons in judgment, nor gives a wrong sentence from love to his party; but acts towards those he dislikes, with the same impartiality, as far as they have justice on their side, as towards his best beloved friends, or those who are most of his mind in everything. He brings forth good fruits, who does justice, loves mercy, and walks humbly with God, living righteously, soberly, and godly, as to the habitual course of his life, though subject always to failings. . . .

But then, as this rule respects our doctrine, he must be acknowledged to be a true prophet and faithful minister, whose doctrine tends to make men most like God, and to renew His image in the hearer; who teacheth the absolute necessity of repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus Christ, as the only name whereby we can be saved; that without holiness no man shall be happy in the life to come; with other great Gospel truths that must be known and believed in order to obtain salvation. He who faithfully explains, enforces, and applies these, seems to have the substantial evidence of soundness in the faith, and by the fruits of his doctrine must be judged a true prophet or faithful minister of Christ.

And the more strictly agreeable any minister's doctrine or particular instructions always are to the chief scope and main design of the Scriptures, the more faithful is he to be accounted. —*Reasons*, pp. 34—36.

CHAPTER XLII.

ALEXANDER M'CRACKAN (1688—1730),

MINISTER OF LISBURN.

The Confession of Faith reduced to Question and Answer. 1726.

ALEXANDER M'CRACKAN was a native of Scotland, the friend of Professor Wodrow of Glasgow, and for twenty years the correspondent of his son, the historian.

He was licensed on the 19th of August, 1684, as a preacher of the Gospel, and was ordained as Minister of Lisburn on the 3rd of July, 1688. The civil war passed over the province of Ulster very soon afterwards, and during that time, like many others, he took refuge in Scotland, and officiated for some time as a Minister in Glasgow. He returned to his charge at Lisburn in May, 1690.

Lisburn in 1707 was destroyed by fire, and the Presbyterian church, in common with other buildings, was burned down. Notwithstanding the sympathy which was felt for the congregation at home, and the aid furnished by Scotland, where the General Assembly recommended a general collection to help in rebuilding, Mr. M'Crackan and his people must have been exposed from this accident to much expense and inconvenience.

But the great difficulty of his life arose from his refusal to take the Abjuration Oath. On the accession of Queen Anne, an Act of Parliament, requiring all persons in any office, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, to take the oath abjuring the right of the descendants of James II. to the Crown, was extended to Ireland,

and it was provided further, that, prior to the 1st of August, 1703, it must be taken not only by the official servants of Government, but by all "preachers and teachers of separate congregations." This of course included Nonconforming Ministers, although the strange thing is, that at that time they had no legal toleration, and in the eye of the law had no recognised existence. All Presbyterian Ministers were in favour of the Protestant Succession and of the House of Hanover, and in that point of view had no difficulty in abjuring the claims of the Pretender. But six Ministers, and M'Crackan among them, scrupled to take an oath which bound them over to support and maintain a constitution in Church and State, by which an Episcopal Church was placed over their heads, their own religion not tolerated, and their people, except at the expense of their conscience, excluded from all employment under the Crown. This refusal was zealously represented by the High Church party as proof of disloyalty to the State, and means were taken to hunt them down as rebels against government. Unlike the English Nonjurors, they were not opposed to the Queen's Government on principle: they were Nonjurors merely from a scruple of conscience. But their enemies did not choose to understand them; they rather welcomed their refusal of the oath, because it supplied the pretext which they desired to harass and to persecute them.

Towards the close of Queen Anne's reign, the Act began to be vigorously put in force. In 1711, two red-hot Episcopal magistrates near Belfast, issued a warrant for the apprehension of McBride of Belfast (see ch. xiii.), Riddel of Glenavy, and M'Crackan of Lisburn. The latter was seized by the constables; but when passing the house of Dr. Edward Smith, the Bishop of Down and Connor, he asked permission to speak to his Lordship; which being granted, he entered by the front door, got out by the rear, and thus made his escape. He fled to Scotland, where he and his family took refuge at Castle-Kennedy in

Galloway. He subsequently went to London, and there had an interview with the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Oxford, and with other men in power, who received him favourably and promised relief. But a hardship that affects only half a dozen people is difficult of remedy, and notwithstanding the civil words of English statesmen, the Act of Parliament still left him at the mercy of the agricultural and ecclesiastical justices of the peace—the Dogberrys of Lisburn, who never once thought of meddling with the Romish Priest for declining the Abjuration Oath, but who, with all the hereditary stupidity and bigotry of their order, hunted down, in the fervour of their Protestant zeal, the Presbyterian Ministers, for the very same offence. Twice afterwards did Mr. M'Crackan and his brethren take refuge in Scotland or England, in order to escape the fangs of these country justices, who, in their love for Protestantism, took such pleasure in injuring their Presbyterian neighbours.

But at last M'Crackan fell into their hands. Coming home on one occasion from visiting one of his elders who was sick, he met by accident Mr. Westenra Waring, high-sheriff of Down, a base wretch who was at the time sunk in debt, and who afterwards was expelled from the Irish House of Commons for inducing his father-in-law, one Green, the high-sheriff of Antrim, to return his name illegally as Member for Randalstown, notwithstanding that the people there had declined to elect him. This model of magisterial purity and loyalty, met M'Crackan near Lisburn, had him apprehended by his servants without the formality of a warrant, and had him committed the next morning to Carrickfergus jail. At the next spring Assizes, his trial took place. A Queen's Counsel and a solicitor were brought down to conduct the prosecution; but the belief was so general that private malice lay at the bottom of the whole affair, that it was with the utmost difficulty that any one could be induced to prove the universally known fact, that he was "a

preacher of a separate congregation." Witnesses were found at last. Mr. M'Crackan avowed in open court that he was in favour of the Protestant succession and against the Pretender, but declined to take the Oath. He was fined in five hundred pounds, sentenced to imprisonment for six months, and at the end of his imprisonment still held bound to take the oath. In consequence of this sentence he lay in prison for two years and a half, bail for his good behaviour being refused. It was not till George I. was two years upon the throne, that Mr. M'Crackan, in 1716, was set free by the Judges of Assize, who decided there was no reason why he should be detained further. "Now I am at home," he writes under date May 8th, 1716; "but what may come next I know not; only I find both body and mind fast failing, for I can neither ride nor walk as formerly; so that I am as under a new confinement for the present. But it may go off for some little time; yet it cannot be long until I come to the house appointed for all living."

It does not appear that Mr. M'Crackan took any prominent part in the non-Subscription Controversy; but he acted with the majority, and gave proof of his orthodoxy by the publication of his treatise, entitled *The Confession of Faith reduced to question and answer*. He long survived his persecutions, as he did not die till the 14th of November, 1730. Dr. Reid speaks of him as "a diligent and faithful Minister." "He was," says Wodrow, my father's friend, and I had the advantage of his letters more than twenty years. He was a firm, honest Scots Presbyterian, and though he has served God and his generation long, it's really a loss when such are removed."*

As his work on the Confession has never come my way, I can only give as a specimen of his style and sentiment one of his letters to Wodrow:—

* MS. *Minutes of Synod*; Wodrow *Correspondence*; Reid's *History*.

LETTER FROM PRISON.

Carigfergus, Jan. 7th, 1714.

REV. DEAR BROTHER,—I have seen a line to Mr. McBride, with a kind remembrance of me and a modest reprehension for not writing. I own my fault, only I think I wrote last. As for anything without the compass of my own particulars, I can say little of it, and therefore leave that to others. After much travail and toil, I am now in *salva custodia legis*, where I endeavour to disappoint those who thought to deprive me of all liberty ; for I now enjoy myself as freely as when I was in England or elsewhere. I have no cause of complaint, for I have a kind Lord and Master, who hath not denied me something of His own presence since I came into this place, and I find that several that formerly stood aloof, now appear more concerned about me, and the apparent troubles of others seem to allay that formerly seized them. The case hath been a little hard with us, that if any favour was shown us, our otherwise professed friends were disobliged.

I have written to my friends in England, but have no full return ; for something fell in when my letters went ; viz., my Lord Treasurer's daughter was then newly dead, and he had not been spoke to by any for several days, so that I could have no return. Nor do I expect that anything [be done] in my case, until the mind of the Parliament be more fully known. I am as yet in the dark about my own case, for there are two Acts of Parliament we are liable to ; and I do not as yet know upon which of them my prosecution will proceed ; for if they insist upon the first, and bring me to trial, I doubt not of being found guilty, and so liable to the £500 sterling ; but if they proceed upon the second Act, then three months' imprisonment answers the first punishment, and so I shall be liberated at the expiration of that time, six weeks of which is now almost over ; but at the end of three months they may confine me immediately for six months longer ; and after that, they may tender me the oath, the which if I refuse, then I am liable to a *premuniro*, i.e., I forfeit all my goods, and am confined during life. But I thank God none of these things trouble me, for I have that to look unto ever since I began in this matter, viz., “But God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that you are able ; but will, with the temptation, also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it.” Now, this I find every day made good to me, and while it is so, surely I have no cause to complain.

Dear Brother, I can say little of suffering ; but in so far as I know, Moses was no fool in the choice he made, and I am persuaded there is so much peace in cleanly suffering, that it is a reward of itself. I am not so much afraid of suffering, as of our succumbing in and under it. If we were helped to keep

faith and a good conscience, and not cast away our confidence, nor to give up our own principles and practice conformity, we might expect the God of Jacob would appear for us in due time. I am sorry to hear of so many displeasing things amongst you in that country. I pray God may graciously prevent the evils feared, and bring about the hopes and expectations of such as are peaceable and well-wishers of Zion in the land. This with affectionate service to yourself, spouse, and other friends, is from, Sir, yours to command, A. M'C.*

* Wodrow *Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 540.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE PRESBYTERY OF ANTRIM (1726—1727).

1. A *Letter* from the Presbytery of Antrim to the *Congregations* under their care, occasioned by the uncharitable breach of Synodical Communion made by the General Synod at Dunganon, June 25th, 1726. pp. 23. *Belfast*, 1726. A. C. B.
2. A *Narrative* of the proceedings of *Seven General Synods* of the Northern Presbyterians in Ireland, with relation to their differences in judgment and practice from the year 1720 to the year 1726, in which they issued in a Synodical breach ; containing the occasion, rise, true state, and progress of the differences ; expedients for peace offered by the non-subscribers, and many other original papers ; Synodical debates, overtures, and decisions ; the conduct of the parties since the breach ; with general observations upon the whole. And an Appendix, in answer to a late pamphlet, intituled "A Seasonable Warning offered by some Subscribing Ministers in the North to their Congregations." 12mo, pp. xxiv. and 392. *Belfast*, 1727. M. C. D.

THE Ministers who belonged to the Belfast Society, and all others in the Synod who agreed with them in their non-subscribing principles, were in 1725 put by the Synod into one Presbytery—henceforth known as the non-Subscribing Presbytery of Antrim ; and in 1726 they were excluded from ministerial communion with their brethren. This rupture occurred at Dunganon ; and before leaving the town the expelled ministers drew up a *Letter* addressed to their congregations, the title of which is given above, in which they re-stated the principles for which they had contended, and vindicated, as against the Synod, the position which they held. This was answered anony-

mously in a pamphlet, the authorship of which I have failed to ascertain, entitled "*A Seasonable Warning*, offered by some subscribing Ministers in the North to their Congregations, occasioned by the misrepresentations in the printed Letter of the Presbytery of Antrim."

The non-subscribers afterwards drew up an authentic and elaborate statement of the whole controversy, and published it in a bulky volume. This work, known as the *Narrative of the Seven Synods*, has made ecclesiastical readers familiar with their sentiments and public action throughout the whole struggle. Owing to their great authority as public documents, we quote from both more largely than our space permits. We have the wish to do justice to those from whom we differ. The truest representation of men, usually is that which they give of themselves.*

The Appendix to the *Seven Synods* contains a *Defence of their Letter*, written with the design of answering the *Seasonable Warning* of the subscribing Ministers spoken of above. All these seem to us now like so many antique and interesting relics, rusted with age, that the ploughshare turns up on some old battlefield, long after the fury of the conflict is over and the warriors are at rest.

PRINCIPLES OF THE PRESBYTERY OF ANTRIM.

Our principles with relation to the points controverted among us, are contained in *Six Propositions*, which we think proper to insert here, as they stand in our paper, seeing the Synod have thought fit to found the breach upon them.

1. Our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Head, King, and Lawgiver of His Church, hath, by His invariable laws recorded in the New Testament, perfectly and sufficiently determined all the conditions and terms which the Christian Church, or any part of it, or any private member or members, or any officer or officers in it, considered either in his or their relation to particular churches or congregations, or to the Catholic Church, or to ecclesiastical associations and assemblies, ought to comply

* Reid's *History* and MS. *Catalogue*.

with in order to their being qualified for, received into, and continued in external religious communion, whether ministerial or Christian, in the visible Church. All Christians who comply with Christ's terms, have a right by the Gospel Charter to be received into religious communion in all churches, in which they are called to it. And no Church, or set of uninspired men, whether met in Synods, Councils, or any other Society, have any power from Christ to add any other terms of religious communion to those He hath settled in the Gospel. And whenever they presume to do so, all their decisions, laws, and canons, and all the penal sanctions annexed to them, are null and void in themselves, not only for want of a competent authority to enact them, but for their contrariety to some plain and important laws of the Gospel, wherein the blessed Head of the Church hath reserved to Himself the peculiar power and prerogative of enacting and prescribing all necessary conditions and terms of our religious communion. And when Christians refuse compliance with such impositions, they are so far from being guilty of despising lawful authority, that their pious zeal for the scriptural purity and catholic simplicity of religious communion ought to be commended, after the example of St. Paul, who, in such a case, would not give place by subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might be continued. (Gal. ii. 5.)

2. Candidates for the Holy Ministry may give clear and sufficient evidence of their soundness in the faith, without subscribing or professing an assent to any one imposed uninspired Form of Articles, or Confession of Faith; and they may as fully satisfy their ordainers concerning their fitness to preach the Christian faith without subscribing any such Confession, as they may prove their aptness to preside in the public worship of God without declaring their assent to any prescribed human liturgy or form of prayer.

3. We are humbly of opinion that the Great Head of the Church hath given no power to the Church to make any canon or religious law, by which an intrant into the ministry, who gives sufficient proof of his soundness in the faith, and of his having all the other ministerial qualifications and abilities required in the Gospel, shall be refused licence to preach the Gospel, ordination, or instalment, merely because he refuseth to give his assent or subscription to the W. C. as the sole and exclusive test and standard of orthodoxy and term of ministerial communion. And seeing Christ Himself hath neither made nor given any power to others to make any such law, it ought to be treated and considered by all persons affected by it as null and void in itself. And it is the duty of ministers to licence, ordain, and instal upon a regular application all who are qualified according to the Gospel, any pretended law or canon of any Church whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

4. To impose a declaration of assent to the W. C. upon parents, as the condition of the baptism of their children, is to add a new term of communion which Christ never appointed; to encourage implicit faith, and the taking of the name of God in vain by the greatest number of persons, whose capacity, education, and opportunities cannot be supposed sufficient to enable them to make such a profession with understanding and judgment, is an arbitrary refusal of a seal of the Christian covenant, and a gross abuse of the pastoral office. Therefore we can't in conscience join in any such imposition, though we scruple not to give our public advice and recommendation to parents at the baptism of their children, seriously to peruse the W. C. and Catechisms as a good summary of the main heads of the Christian doctrine, comparing them with the word of God, that their faith stand not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God; and that they would use them as good helps for their growth in knowledge and for instructing their children.

5. The requiring from the members of our judicatories, or from any other Christian in communion with us, declarations of faith upon the penalty of non-communion, while the person required to make such declarations stands in judgment upon an accusation, and can't be fairly convicted upon evidence; or for the removing of jealousies, even though the declaration should be required from an apprehension in the judicatory requiring it, that it will contribute to the glory of God and the edification of souls, appears to us to be a new term of communion which Christ hath not prescribed, and the setting up in the Church an exorbitant and arbitrary power, contrary to the essential rights of natural equity, eversive of Christian discipline, a snare to conscience, destructive of the liberties of Christians, and the holding of an inquisition, justly complained of, and clearly refuted from the Holy Scriptures by the most pious and learned Protestants of all persuasions; and a tame submission to such claims of power, and a compliance with its demands, even though the article to be declared should appear true and important to him upon whom the declaration is imposed, appears to us to be a sinful violation of some plain and important laws of the Gospel.

6. Subscriptions and declarations which are called voluntary, when the subscribers and declarers know that the non-subscribers and non-declarers must incur a popular odium, and are in danger of being rendered useless in the work of the ministry, with respect to many at least who they know will break communion with them on that score, seem to us not to be really voluntary, but to carry with them all the force and sting of real impositions, loaded with heavy and severe penalties. and therefore we can't in conscience comply with them.—*Letter of the Presbytery of Antrim*, dated at Dungannon, June 28th, 1726, pp. 6—10.

ORIGIN OF THE PRESBYTERY OF ANTRIM, 1725.

The third overture presented by the subscribing body, and enacted by the Synod, was for a new model of the Presbyteries within the sub-Synod of Belfast ; in which there is nothing remarkable but this, that all the non-subscribers (who were before this new model members of three different Presbyteries) were put together into one Presbytery, called the Presbytery of Antrim, and two subscribers joined with them ; and that this was entirely the project and motion of the subscribers themselves, the non-subscribers declaring in the Synod that they had no scruple or objection against continuing and acting as members of the several Presbyteries to which they belonged ; but seeing this new model was what they found their brethren were fond of, they would not oppose it.—*The Seven Synods*, p. 160.

THE GRAND DEBATE OF 1726.

There is a difficulty that yet remains (says a subscriber), and that is, what shall be done with a candidate that the Presbytery has received satisfaction from, and yet we have not received satisfaction, even from the Presbytery ? Here is a Presbytery that will not declare unto you any scheme of doctrines that they will insist on as terms of communion, yet you must believe that the candidate they ordain has given a confession of his faith that ought to satisfy you. Unless they hold principles that we are satisfied with, how can we expect satisfaction from those they ordain ? . . . 'Tis plain the Synod may with greater confidence receive men that are ordained by Presbyteries whose principles they know, than if they were ordained by a Presbytery whose principles they do not know. Let our brethren, then, give us a scheme of their own principles, that we may see how far we are agreed. This I take (said the member that spake) to be the core of the debate.

The non-subscribers answered to this argument, as they had done to the preceding, by making the same demand upon the Synod, saying, You allege your principles are known, because you have subscribed the Confession of Faith. We say they are nothing the better known for that ; because many of the Articles of the Confession are capable of different senses, and men may put senses on them which they will not bear, and you have not yet told the world in what sense you understand them. . . . Besides, the greatest number of you subscribed with a reserve of the benefit of the Pacific Act, which allows an alteration of phrase or phrases ; and you have not yet told the world what are the phrases you scruple in the Confession, and what are the phrases you substitute in their room ; perhaps what some would call an alteration of phrases only, others would call a denial of the doctrines. 'Tis no improbable conjecture, that if you were to explain yourselves upon every Article, there would appear a

great diversity of sentiments among you, and perhaps not any two of you would agree in the same sense of all the Articles. We are surprised to find our brethren triumph so much in their subscription, when it does not give any reasonable man any greater satisfaction as to your principles than he had before. To say the mildest thing of it, it is not a thing to be boasted of. Let nobody run away with it, as if we called in question your soundness in the faith; we say no such thing, and have no suspicion of our brethren; but we say no man has any rational satisfaction by your subscription more than he had before.

The reply that was made to this was, Our brethren say they do not know in what sense we subscribed the Confession; let us now go through it with them, article by article, and let both them and us declare in what sense we understand them; and by this means we will see how far we are agreed.

Mr. Abernethy and Mr. Haliday expressly agreed to this motion, each of them at that time speaking a sentence or two, and each said, "With all my heart." Mr. Kirkpatrick declared in what sense he agreed to it, and in what sense he declined it, in words to this effect:—

"Moderator, if the meaning of this proposal be that, upon reading of each Article of the Confession, the roll should be called without any reasoning, and every member be obliged only to say *Yea* or *No*, as he believes or disbelieves the Article or any proposition in it, I am humbly of opinion that the proposal in that sense amounts to the holding of an *inquisition* upon me; which, being contrary to natural equity, the rules of Christian discipline, and the rights and liberties I am entitled to by the Gospel Charter, I can't in conscience submit to. But if the meaning of this proposal be that the Synod are resolved to examine the whole Confession of Faith by the word of God, the only rule of faith and Christian practice, and go into a free debate in order to find out the truth, to discover if there be any error in it, and to express truth more clearly, if that shall be found necessary, I think the proposal in this sense a very good one, and very worthy of an assembly of Protestant divines, and may tend to the edification of the churches, provided due time be allowed for it. The Assembly which composed it had it under their deliberation for some years before they finished it; and it is highly reasonable, that what exercised the thoughts of so many great and learned divines so long should be very seriously examined by us, not in a cursory, slight manner, but with great deliberation."

While he was thus explaining in what sense he understood and agreed to the motion, he was interrupted by several of the other side calling out, "Shall we stay here all year, and examine our faith over again? would you have us go through every article?" Then Messieurs Abernethy and Haliday spoke again, and both of them approved of the distinction made by Mr. Kirkpatrick.—*The Seven Synods*, pp. 258—263.

THE SYNODICAL BREACH.

None of these arguments prevailed. The cry of the party was "PROCEED, PROCEED! A VOTE, A VOTE! We have had reasoning enough!" Upon which the previous question was put, which of these questions shall be put? (viz., the question about approving the overture for a breach, or the question for declaring the concessions of non-subscribers satisfactory.) It carried that the first question shall be put. This resolution was carried by the votes of the elders against a considerable majority of the ministers. Forty ministers voted against it, and only twenty-nine for it.

After the party had carried their point upon the previous question, though against the majority of the ministers, they would permit no member to speak on either side of the main question. The Synod's Minutes give us the issue in these words: "And then the first question, viz., *Agree to the Overture from the subscribing body or not?* was put, and it carried AGREE by a great majority." Of the ministers who were present, *thirty-five* or thirty-six, and no more, voted for the overture; *thirty-four* ministers voted against it; *two* ministers voted *Non liquet* (a term used in Synods and Presbyteries by those whose minds are in suspense, and who know not which side of the question is right or wrong); *six* ministers who had been present in the debate gave no vote at all, some of whom stayed in the Synod, but did not answer to their names, and others left the house before their names were called in the roll. . . . We relate this part of the history, not from the least regard to numbers or votes in matters of religion and conscience (for had the overture been unanimously approved by the whole subscribing body, that would have made the cause neither better nor worse); but purely with this view, that such as upon an impartial enquiry shall judge the Synod's conduct in this affair to have been exceeding bad, may not blame the majority even of the dissenting ministers in the North of Ireland for a decision to which thirty-six, and no more, of their number gave their concurring voices. For the silence of such as gave no vote, when they had an opportunity, we pretend not to give, because we don't indeed know, the reasons. In the meantime we must inform the reader that the thirty-six who concurred in the rupture were not the one-fourth part of the ministers who were members of the General Synod.

When the overture was approved, divers members and elders protested against it; the non-subscribers joined in the protest, and then made their farewell speeches to the Synod.—*The Seven Synods*, pp. 290-3.

CHAPTER XLIII.

ROBERT HIGINBOTHAM, M.A. (1710—1770),

MINISTER OF COLERAINE.

1. *Reasons* against the Overtures which were referred to the consideration of the several Presbyteries by the last General Synod, which met at Dungannon in June, 1725. In a Letter to a Friend. 12mo., pp. 52. [Dated Coleraine, Feb. 28th, 1726.] *Belfast*, 1726. A. C. B.
2. A *Letter* from the Rev. Mr. Robert Higinbotham of Coleraine, to his friend, relating to the principles and conduct of one Mr. Swanston, an itinerant preacher, from the Seceding brethren in Scotland, now in the North of Ireland. 18mo., pp. 8. [No place.] 1747. W. D. K.
3. A *Letter* to the Rev. Mr. John Tennant, a Seceding Minister, wherein his asserting "that to know the will of God, and to do it, is not true religion," is considered. 1753.
4. A *Persuasive* to learn Righteousness when the Judgments of God are upon the Earth. A Sermon preached at Coleraine, 6th February, 1756, being a Fast appointed by the Government on account of the earthquake at Lisbon and other places, and on account of being engaged in a war with France. [Isaiah xxvi. 9.] pp. 32. *Belfast*, 1756. A. C. B.

MR. ROBERT HIGINBOTHAM was ordained as Minister of Coleraine on the 26th of December, 1710, where, after a vacancy of seven years, he succeeded Mr. Abernethy, senior. (See ch. xxv.)

In 1714, he was the subject of an ecclesiastical prosecution, which in the end was carried up before the Supreme Court. He was convicted before the Synod of having failed in his promise to marry Mrs. Martha Woods, of Four-loan-ends, in the parish of Belfast.

He pled in apology that he could not obtain his father's consent to the union. The Synod sent for the old man, and endeavoured to prevail upon him to agree to his son's fulfilment of his contract; but the whole Synod pled in vain. Failing to persuade the father, they proceeded to rebuke the son for his breach of faith, and in summary fashion gave him three months to marry the lady, or if not, to be deposed. He took the Synodical admonition in good part, gave ear to the advice of his seniors, and preferred marriage to deposition. Within the specified time Mrs. Woods became Mrs. Higinbotham.

In the non-subscription controversy, Mr. Higinbotham occupied a position not very dissimilar to that of his young friend and neighbour, Mr. Elder of Aghadowey. He was himself a subscriber, but his sympathies appear to have gone with those who were opposed to subscription. When the Synod of 1725 sent forth the Overtures (see Reid, ch. xxv., vol. iii., p. 201) for the consideration of Presbyteries, Mr. Higinbotham absented himself from two successive meetings of the Presbytery of Route, specially called for their consideration, and, without consulting his brethren, issued his *Reasons against the Overtures*, the nature of which is sufficiently known from its title. In this work he takes up the Synodical Overtures in order, and advances reasons against them, sometimes with great justice and considerable power, but in terms which show that he was thoroughly inoculated with the principles of the non-subscribers. Boyse in one of his letters to Steward (see ch. xx.) describes this work as "smartly and judiciously drawn;" but it was so very "smartly drawn" that it gave great offence both to the Presbytery and to his own congregation. The first result of his authorship was, that a considerable number of families withdrew from his ministry, and formed themselves into a separate congregation, now known as the Second Congregation, or New Row Church. Next the Presbytery of Route instituted a process against him for the opinions which he had

avowed, and the result was that he was censured by the Committee of Synod. He was so indignant at this, that he formally withdrew from the Synod, and put himself and his congregation under the care of the Presbytery of Antrim.

But every position has its drawbacks, and Mr. Higinbotham soon repented of the rash step which he had taken. At the special meeting of Synod held in Dungannon on the 29th of December, 1727, to consider certain disputes in the congregation of Taughboyne, now Monreagh, Mr. Higinbotham sought re-admission to the Synod, and was received on his presenting the following paper :—

“As I have freely, upon all occasions, subscribed the Westminster Confession as a test of orthodoxy, so I never repented of my so doing, and still adhere to these subscriptions. That as I do not know any rule of this Church to which I cannot submit, so I am resolved to live in peace in whatever Presbytery I am, and do look upon the constitution of this Church to be the best of any I know.—*Subscribitur*, ROBERT HIGINBOTHAM.”

The Synod having re-admitted him to membership, counselled him to live in peace with those who had retired from his ministry, and who were now recognized as the Second Congregation of Coleraine. Mr. Higinbotham and the First Congregation were forthwith added to the Presbytery of Derry. But the inconstancy of his personal character, and his suspected principles, made him anything but an acceptable addition to his brethren of the North-west. The Ballykelly and Boveva congregations, long and justly distinguished for their attachment to orthodoxy, made such loud complaints about the introduction of an ex-member of the Presbytery of Antrim into the Presbytery which exercised spiritual jurisdiction over them, that the Synod of 1728 was fain to remove him and his congregation from the Presbytery of Derry, and add them to that of Templepatrick. By this time the Church had grown so weary of heterodoxy, that one or two Presbyteries had to be passed over before one was found willing to admit the suspected.

For several years after this, nothing is known of Mr. Higinbotham. Profiting by his unpleasant experience, he kept quiet, so far as the public knows. When the Seceding preachers came to the country, however, and visited his neighbourhood, he felt the old polemic spirit come over him once more. Mr. Swanston, a Seceding licentiate, visited the district of Coleraine, and Mr. Higinbotham issued a small pamphlet against him. It was a most contemptible production, in no way creditable to the writer; but it was understood to convey a challenge to a public discussion, which Mr. Swanston readily accepted. The encounter came off at Ballyrashane in 1747, on a platform erected in the open air, and in presence of a great multitude. By all accounts, Higinbotham got rather the worst of it; and the discomfiture was all the more galling, as he happened that year to be Moderator of the Synod of Ulster, and the Church to some extent was compromised by his imprudence. The body, however, civil or ecclesiastical, which elevates an unsafe man to its highest position of dignity and responsibility, has no right to complain when called upon to pay the usual penalty which attaches to its conduct.

In 1753, he published a *Letter to Mr. Tennent*, the first Seceding minister of Roseyards. I have not succeeded in getting a sight of this production, but surely Dr. Clark of Cahans (see ch. lxx.) must express himself strongly when he describes it as "one of the most remarkable pieces of scorn and rage that ever my eyes beheld."* We must, however, take with some allowance the representation of a man's work made by his antagonist, and every Seceder was, in a sense, the antagonist of Higinbotham.

His last production happily was not polemical. The great earthquake at Lisbon in 1755, in which twenty thousand persons lost their lives and a great part of the city was destroyed, struck a momentary terror throughout Europe. England at the time was engaged in war with France. A public fast was appointed by

* Clarke's *New Light set in a Clear Light*, p. 13.

Government. At Coleraine Mr. Higinbotham preached from Isaiah xxvi. 9, a sermon which was subsequently published under the title, *A Persuasive to learn Righteousness when the Judgments of God are upon the Earth*. He shows that the judgments of God are upon the earth, when extraordinary calamities, such as earthquakes, wars, pestilence, and famine are visiting near nations; that, under such dispensations, all men ought to be employed in performing the duties they owe to God, to their neighbour, and to themselves; and that men in such circumstances are under obligation to cry for mercy and to amend their lives. He concludes with an application. It is not a powerful address, nor by any means rich in Gospel thought, but in subject and in treatment it is suitable to the occasion.

Mr. Higinbotham was for sixty years minister of Coleraine. He died on the 6th October, 1770. He was a man of public spirit and fair ability, but he failed as a successful minister of the New Testament for want alike of steadiness of character and of a firm hold of the principles of the Gospel.*

INVECTIVE AGAINST SWANSTON.

As I have heard that Mr. Swanston, an unruly vain talker and deceiver, who subverts whole houses, has been playing his pranks in your part of the country, I can't give you a better account of the man and his conversation than by letting you know that, in a sermon I heard him preach, and in two conferences I had with him upon it, I undertake to prove the following particulars by unexceptionable witnesses :

First. That he charged the Free-willers, and particularly Limborch, with holding that they stand in no need of the grace of God to perform good works pleasing to God and necessary to salvation.

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Eighthly. That in explaining the 23rd Psalm in metre, he

* MS. *Minutes of Synod* ; *Higinbotham's Writings* ; Reid and Killen's *History* ; Reid's *Catalogue* ; *Gentleman's Magazine* for November, 1770.

found the new *Skimmers* and the Solemn League and Covenant in it ; and that five cities in Egypt speaking the language of Canaan (Isa. xix. 18) was a prophecy of that covenant ; and that to the great reproach of all commentators, ancient and modern, who never dreamed of any such thing.

* * * * *

Twelfthly. That he and his party will bear with and tolerate no errors in religion ; that this would be worse than to tolerate adulterers and thieves in the State.

Thirteenthly. That days of fasting and thanksgiving appointed by the King were not to be kept ; and that he neither had, nor would take, the Oath of Allegiance appointed to be taken to the King.

I have chosen out the above particulars to show you the monstrous deformity of this man's mind ; and I sincerely declare that I don't know one good quality in him to soften what must be shocking to every man that has not caught the infection that he labours to spread. "Stand off, come not near, for I am holier than thou ;" and, "I thank Thee that I am not like other men," runs through all his performances. I take him to be one of those unruly, vain talkers whose mouths must be stopped, and that he has too much of the Cretian in his character not to meet with a sharp rebuke. I challenge Mr. Swanston and all his admirers to put me on the proof of any of the above particulars ; and that this may be known I beg that you would make this letter as public as you can. What sort of a guide have his blind followers chosen ? Are these the kind of tools that the Associate Synod and Presbytery send to reform the world ! It can't be surprising that liars and slanderers and false accusers dislike the preaching of morality. But is there not some comfort in it, that the accuser of the brethren can't always get a *serpent* to make use of as a tempter, but is forced at last to take up with an *ass* ?—*Letter relating to Swanston*, pp. 3, 5, and 7, 8.

TYRANNY OF THE STUARTS.

It is clear from our history, that not one person of the male line of the house of Stuart, from the time they came to the British throne till the abdication of the last of them, not excepting the Royal Martyr, but were tyrants, and to a man laboured, by the doctrine of divine, indefeasible, unalienable, hereditary right and unlimited passive obedience, to enslave their subjects. And it is amazing how they were flattered, and by whom, when they were preparing chains for those they governed, and what multitudes were thrusting their necks into the yokes that were prepared for them. The doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience without limitation were, from the Restoration to the Revolution, what came from every pulpit, and was gloried in as the characteristic of the Established

Church. And all who did not show themselves possessed with the same frenzy were marked out as traitors and rebels, and damnation pronounced against them in a most liberal manner. And the resisting the King or those commissioned by him, was not on any pretence whatsoever to be done ; and all persons, before they were admitted to any office, were to swear that such resistance was traitorous, and what they abhorred ; though by this they gave up the rights of Englishmen, and embraced principles that perfectly qualified them to be slaves to the Great Mogul, or the most despotic tyrant that ever swayed an eastern sceptre. It is true, indeed, that when King James stretched out his hand, and in an open manner invaded the rights of these persons, who had sworn that it was not lawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to resist the King, or those that were commissioned by him, they then opposed him ; and as he had dispensed with his coronation oath to deprive them of their rights, so they were even with him, and dispensed with their oaths, by which they had bound themselves to the exercise of passive obedience and non-resistance, and were clamorous in inviting the Prince of Orange to help them to resist King James. In justice to many of them it must be owned that, when the fright was over, they soon repented, and gave sufficient evidence of such a fondness for the doctrine of unlimited passive obedience and non-resistance and the detestable slavery that is inseparable from them, that they did everything to embarrass the government of the great King William all his reign.—*Persuasive*, pp. 25—27.

CHAPTER XLIV.

RICHARD CHOPPIN (1704—1741),

MINISTER AT DUBLIN (WOOD STREET).

A Funeral Sermon occasioned by the much-lamented death of the Rev. Mr. Joseph Boyse, preached to the congregation of Wood Street, December 8, 1728. [Luke xii. 42, 43.] pp. 52. *Dublin*, 1728.

RICHARD CHOPPIN was a native of Dublin, and received his education in that city. He was licensed in 1702, and in 1704 he was ordained in the congregation of Wood Street, as successor to Emlyn (see ch. xv.), and colleague to Boyse (see ch. ix.).

While Dublin was the seat of the Irish Parliament, the nobility and gentry from all parts of the country were in the habit of resorting thither, and up till the close of the eighteenth century the Dublin congregations contained the richest and the most influential members of the Presbyterian Church. In 1710, the Presbyterian gentry and Ministers residing there, by deed bearing date the 1st of May in that year, founded the General Fund for "the support of religion in and about Dublin and the South of Ireland." The means, by which it was intended that the Fund should accomplish this, were to defend Protestant Dissenters against unreasonable prosecutions instituted against them by the High Church party, to assist in educating young men proposing to study for the ministry, and to aid poor congregations in supporting pastors. The first trustees of the Fund were the subscribers and

the ten Ministers of the five Dublin congregations. The great bulk of the money, £6,750 out of the £7,670 originally raised, was contributed by the congregation of Wood Street alone; and the gentlemen who took the most active part in its collection were Mr. Choppin, Sir Arthur Langford, and Dr. Duncan Cuming—the gentleman already named (see ch. xv.) as being the first to detect the Arianism of Emlyn, and who was held in the highest esteem by the Presbyterians of Ireland. Of the money thus intrusted to them, the trustees invested the largest portion in the purchase of Mr. Choppin's estate at Rathfarnham.

Mr. Choppin occasionally attended the Synod of Ulster as corresponding member on behalf of the Dublin Ministers, and though himself warmly attached to orthodoxy, yet, like Boyse, Weld, and others, sympathized with the N.S.S. in their opposition to subscription. Non-subscribing principles, however, eventually produced in Dublin the same fruit which they produced in the North, and long before the end of the century Arianism reigned in the pulpit and in the pews of the very congregation, from which in 1702 Emlyn had been driven for no other offence than Arianism;—a fact which carries in it the solemn lesson, that no new generation, relying on their fancied wisdom and superiority, should recklessly remove the safeguards which the experience of their fathers has established. Events repeat themselves; and what has occurred once, may very probably occur again.

On the death of Mr. Boyse, senior Minister of Wood Street, in 1728, his funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Choppin. In addition to the ordinary form of issue, that production was also printed in folio, and prefixed to some copies of Boyse's collected works, issued that same year. Not having seen a copy, I take as extract a private letter of his, addressed to the Rev. Thomas Steward (see ch. xx.).

In 1740, the Rev. John Abernethy of Antrim removed to Dublin, and became colleague of Choppin, in Wood Street. From that time we must date the

change in the religious principles of the congregation. Choppin himself died the year after Abernethy's settlement. It is matter of regret that so little is now known of one, who seems to have been in his day a respectable and worthy minister.*

LETTER FROM DERRY.

Londonderry, July 8th, 1712.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I thank you for both your kind letters, which I received the same day, and were exceedingly acceptable to me. I think myself much obliged to you for your correspondence, and hope you will continue to favour me in the like kind while I am absent from town. It has been such terrible weather both for wind and rain since we came hither, that I have scarce been able to look out, so that I can give very little account of this place as yet. Here is a fine congregation of Dissenters, and many of them the most substantial people of the town, and a very kind hearty people they seem to be. I was pleased much to see the Sabbath so well observed as it is here. Hardly a person to be seen in the streets all the evening, and everything as quiet as if there were no inhabitants in the town. Most of the northern congregations where I have been are very numerous. In a little country place, where you would hardly expect to see the face of a Christian, you shall have on the Lord's-day an auditory of six or seven hundred people; and most of the ministers of whom I have enquired concerning the numbers of their people, have told me that they have upon their list ten hundred examinable persons, and some fifteen, some eighteen hundred: while at the same time the Established minister (as I have been particularly informed in two or three places) has not above six or seven, and not above three or four persons to attend the service of the Church. Since I have made these observations I cease to wonder at the jealousy and rage of the clergy in these parts, and of all that they can influence. For the truth is, they make a very contemptible figure, and, generally speaking, do live less comfortably, I mean in the country parishes, than the Dissenting ministers.

I was much surprised at the hint you gave me about what was reported concerning me, and much more by the account I had from others of the way it came—by a letter from Mr. Sinclair. I think it very odd that he should allow himself to make so unfair a representation of what was nothing but a matter of

* Reid's *MS. Catalogue*; Armstrong's *Sketches* of the Dublin Ministers.

mere compliment. All the foundation he had for such a report was this, the Moderator of the Synod proposed that since there were three of their members who had the privilege of voting as constant correspondents allowed them by the Presbytery of Dublin, the Synod might show the respect to their Dublin brethren to allow any of their number that was occasionally with them the same privilege; and the motion was backed by a multitude of voices without any previous knowledge or consent of mine. Accordingly the Moderator desired that I would allow my name to be entered in their roll, and that I would vote with them while I stayed. It being designed not only as a civility to me, but to the brethren in Dublin, I thought it would be rudeness in me to resist their desire, and accordingly my name was set down, and I voted with them upon several questions. This is the true matter of fact, and how anybody could raise such a report as was current among you upon so slight a ground as this I cannot imagine, unless they have a mind to make use of this as a precedent for a very unaccountable sort of independent subjection, which they would fain have allowed to themselves. But I assure you, when I subject myself to the Synod I will act a little more consistently and above-board than some people do. And so much for that foolish story, which I hope everybody is satisfied by this time of the falsehood of.

I hope all friends with you are well, as we all are, through mercy. Your next letter must be directed to Thomas Edwards, Esq., at Castlederg, near Strabane, my brother being come hither yesterday to fetch my wife, who, I believe, will go with him the latter end of this week or the beginning of next. Our stay, I fear, will be somewhat the longer, because the weather is so bad. We were detained on the road to this place almost a week. I long to be home for many reasons. Pray remember us all kindly to our friends at home. Let my aunt hear we are well, and that I hope she will let us hear of her as often as she can. My wife and father and Mr. Bell join with me in affectionate service to you and Mrs. Steward. I am, as you see, confined by my paper, so I can only add that I am

Your affectionate brother and humble servant,

R. CHOPPIN.

To the Rev. Mr. Thomas Steward,
At his house in Channel Roe, Dublin.

CHAPTER XLV.

JOHN LELAND, D.D. (1716—1766),

MINISTER AT DUBLIN (EUSTACE STREET).

1. *A Sermon* preached at the Meeting-house, Cooke Street, on November 5, 1728, from John xvi. 2, 3. 12mo., pp. 28. *Dublin*, 1728. A. C. B.
2. *A Sermon* on the death of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Maquay, Minister of Plunket Street. Preached April 27, 1729. James iv. 14. pp. 26. *Dublin*, 1729.
3. *An Account of a Conference* between Mr. L——y, a Popish priest, and Mr. L——d, a Dissenting Minister. *Dublin*, 1730. M. C. D.
4. *Sermon* on the death of the Rev. N. Weld, Minister of Eustace Street. 1730.
5. *A Funeral Sermon* on the death of Mr. Samuel Card, who died November 6th. Preached at Eustace Street, November 12, 1732. Job xxx. 23. pp. 32. *Dublin*, 1732.
6. *An Answer* to a late book, entitled *Christianity as Old as the Creation*. 2 vols. *Dublin*, 1733. M. C. D.
7. *The Divine Authority* of the Old and New Testament asserted against the aspersions and false reasonings of a book entitled *The Moral Philosopher*. 2 vols., 8vo. *London*, 1739. M. C. D.
8. *Remarks* on a late Pamphlet entitled *Christianity not founded on Argument*. First letter, pp. 84; second letter, pp. 102. *London*, 1744. A. C. B.
9. *Reflections* on the late Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study and Use of History, especially so far as they relate to Christianity and the Holy Scriptures. 8vo., pp. 167. *Dublin*, 1753. A. C. B.
10. *A View of the Principal Deistical Writers* that have appeared in England in the last and present centuries, with observations. 3 vols. 1754. Fourth edition, 2 vols. *London*, 1764. M. C. D.

11. *Some Prayers in Mear's Forms of Devotion proper for Families.* Dublin, 1756.
12. *The Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation,* shown from the state of religion in the ancient heathen world, and especially with regard to the knowledge and worship of the one true God, the rule of moral duty, and a state of future rewards and punishments. 2 vols. 1762. M. C. D.
13. *Preparatory to the General Fast.* Reflections on the present state of things in these nations. Republished by a lay member of the Church of England, and advertised in the *General Magazine* for November, 1809.
14. *Posthumous Sermons.* 4 vols., 8vo. London, 1769. T. W.

WHILE the non-Subscribers of the North were attempting to subvert the very foundations of Presbyterian Church Government, and to establish precedents under cover of which error would be free to enter unchallenged and to spread silently among the ministers and members of the Church, there was at least one man who rose above the petty controversies of the hour, and who found out nobler and better work for himself than to inflict a deadly wound on the body to which he belonged, and to stir up strife among his brethren. While the Church in Ireland to its utmost borders was affected less or more by this non-Subscription Controversy, he did not mix in the din; but devoted his talents to the work of examining the very foundations of Christianity, and set himself down to the task of repelling the assaults which were directed against it by the hosts of infidelity.

This man was JOHN LELAND. He was born at Wigan, in Lancashire, on the 18th of October, 1691. His parents, having fallen into difficulties, surrendered their property to their creditors, and came to reside in Dublin towards the end of the century. A singular thing befell the future theologian in his childhood. When six or seven years of age, he fell sick of small-pox, in which he was so ill that he was deprived both of understanding and memory. In that stupid state he continued to exist for months after the disease had wrought itself out, and when at the end of a year his intellectual powers were restored, it was found that

the power of reading that he had acquired before his illness had been lost in the interval, and once more he had to begin with the alphabet.

As he grew up from boyhood into youth, he gave proofs of a strong and vigorous understanding. It does not appear that he ever enjoyed the advantages of any college training, but under care of the ministers of Dublin he studied literature, philosophy, and theology, and passed over such a course as was then judged to be sufficient preparation for the ministry. When the time came for entrance on public work, his preaching proved acceptable to the people, and on the 13th of December, 1716, he was ordained as colleague to the Rev. Nathan Weld (see ch. xiv.) in the congregation of New Row, Dublin. He was soon known as an able and popular preacher: his sermons are described as plain, correct, and useful; and their effect was not diminished by the fact that they were delivered without notes. It is certainly a striking fact that the ablest theologian who occupied a pulpit in the Presbyterian Church of Ireland throughout the eighteenth century, was a man who never attended upon a college class, but attained his position by private study and individual exertion. But in defiance of appearances, so it always is. Men are not made by other men: in the world of intelligence and intellect, men always make themselves.

Twelve years after his ordination, came his first published sermon. It was preached in Cook Street, on the 5th of November, 1728, on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot. Its design is to exhibit the persecuting spirit as it wrought in the Jews of old, and in the Romanists of modern times, and then to point out how contrary this is to the spirit of the Gospel of Christ.

In 1731, Mr. Leland married Mrs. Anne Maquay, widow of the minister of Plunket Street, whose funeral sermon he had preached in 1729. The children which she bore him, all died in infancy; but to his wife's children by her former husband he showed great kind-

ness, and acted towards them with no less consideration and affection than if they had been his own.

It was not till 1733 that the first of his great controversial works made its appearance. It was an *Answer* to Tindal the Deist, who in his *Christianity as Old as the Creation*, had made an attack on Divine Revelation, and had attempted to subvert the authority of the Holy Scriptures. The *Answer* is divided into two parts, corresponding to the two volumes of the original edition. In the first part, he shows that Tindal's scheme of natural religion is inconsistent with reason, with itself, with morality, and with the good of man; in the second, he meets the objections of the Deist, and vindicates the authority and utility of the Divine revelation contained in the Holy Scriptures. Leland's work would still be remembered, if Tindal's had not been so completely forgotten. Time buries the intellectual creation of the infidel, and rusts also the keen-edged weapon by which the creature was hunted out of life.

Six years later, Mr. Leland published an elaborate reply to the work of Morgan, entitled *The Moral Philosopher*. This Deistical writer rejected entirely the authority of the Old Testament: he admitted that Christianity is a benefit, but said that the only true and genuine Christianity is that which is derived from the volume of nature and the inward light of man, and maintained that the Christianity which is represented in the New Testament is merely a corruption of Judaism. In his *Divine Authority of the Old and New Testament asserted*, Mr. Leland answered his objections to the one Testament, and vindicated the doctrine and character of the Lord Jesus as presented in the other. When Morgan replied, he rejoined in a second volume with the same title. It was generally allowed at the time, that Leland conducted this difficult controversy with great ability, and that he triumphantly vindicated the authority of Divine Revelation. The *Moral Philosopher*, however, like *Christianity as Old as the Creation*, has been long since dead and forgotten: it

communicated somewhat of its own perishable nature to the reply which it called into existence, and neither of them attracts any notice from the present generation. But the merits of the answer, and the services of its author, were much appreciated at the time. So much was this the case, that in 1739 the University of Aberdeen did itself the honour of bestowing upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity.

His next works were not so voluminous as the replies to Tindal and Morgan. One of these was published in 1744, with the title, *Remarks on "Christianity not founded on Argument."* The sceptical author to which he replies, had maintained that God never intended that reason should be employed to guide men into the true faith—a position which in one point of view is true enough; but Dr. Leland, who understands him to say that faith and reason are inconsistent, set himself to show what is also true, that Christianity is founded on reason, and that our faith is based on evidence sufficient to convince any sound understanding. The other was published in 1753, and bore the title, *Reflections on the late Lord Bolingbroke's "Letters on the Study and Use of History."* His Lordship, it appears, had admitted that Christianity professes to be founded on facts, and that if these facts can be sustained by historical evidence, then the truth of Christianity is proved. Leland meets him at this point, and shows that the main facts of the Christian religion are supported by a more abundant amount of strictly historical evidence than any other alleged facts which have come down to us from antiquity. The dispute between them thus turns on the credibility and authenticity of the Gospel records. His Lordship, like some other Deists, seems to be stronger in sneer, insinuation, and bold recklessness of assertion, than in argument; while his antagonist plies him with most of those arguments which Paley, towards the close of the century, used against the enemies of the faith with still greater effect. Dr. Leland published this work at the suggestion of his

friend Dr. Thomas Wilson, Rector of Wallbrook, London.

In 1754, the year after the publication of his *Reflections*, there issued from the press the work by which Dr. Leland is best known, and which best supports his claim to rank among the theologians of his age and country. This is his *View of the Deistical Writers*. The first edition was not complete, but subsequently it received additions from the hand of the author, till it assumed the form in which it is best known to the public. In this work he takes up the English Deists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in chronological order—Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Hobbes, Shaftesbury, Chubb, Hume, Bolingbroke, and others; he presents a summary of what each of them wrote against revealed religion, showing how often they had changed their front and assumed various disguises, but always with the one object to set aside Christianity and to put natural religion or no religion in its place. He shows that if infidelity has made progress, it must be owing to something else than to the force of the arguments brought against it by its enemies, that Christianity is in no danger from free and impartial inquiry, and that the most plausible objections urged against it have been solidly confuted. He gives an account of the most remarkable works, published in answer to the Deistical writers, which have come under his notice; and concludes with a brief representation of the Christian evidences and of the excellent tendencies of the Christian religion. The whole is cast in the form of letters addressed to a friend.

There was still another book to come from his prolific pen. His last years were spent in preparing another work on the Christian Evidences, which was published in 1762, with the title, *The Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation*. In this treatise he brings to the test of experience the statements of Deistical writers in regard to the sufficiency of natural religion, even without a Divine

revelation. He shows what notions the Pagan world, without the Bible, actually formed on such subjects as the knowledge and worship of the one true God, moral duty, and a future state of rewards and punishments. He argues not from mere speculation as to the capacity of human reason, but from actual fact and experience, as to the opinions which men would adopt and the practices which they would follow, provided they were not under the guidance of Divine revelation, and he shows that even in those matters which natural religion asserts most clearly and most fully, mankind stood in need of revelation, and never can be sufficiently grateful for that Divine message, which flings around the precepts of nature the most glorious light. He makes it plain that the Jewish revelation was useful to men by preserving the knowledge of the one true God, and by keeping idolatry in check ; and that the Christian revelation, supported by every evidence needed to prove its Divine origin, is adapted to the necessities of the whole human race, and is calculated to set forth the principles of religion in a manner the most convincing, and to enforce them with an authority becoming their importance. He infers that "we who by the favour of God enjoy the benefit of the last and most perfect revelation of the Divine will which was ever made to mankind, are under the highest obligations to receive it with the profoundest veneration, with the most unfeigned gratitude, and thankful admiration of the Divine goodness, and to endeavour to make the best use and improvement of it." "This work," says Bishop Hare, "is the best and most useful English book I ever read."

Dr. Leland died of inflammation of the lungs, on the 16th of January, 1766. His funeral sermon and a sketch of his life were published by his colleague, Dr. Isaac Weld (see ch. lxxvii.). After his death, his *Sermons* were published in four volumes in 1769, and go to show that the religious opinions of Dr. Leland were orthodox and in full unison with the doctrines of true Catholic Christianity. He did not, however,

shine in the sphere of doctrinal and practical exposition. His whole strength was given to the evidences. Like most of the great theologians of the eighteenth century—Butler, Lardner, and Paley—he excelled in defending the outworks of religion from its assailants, rather than in unfolding its nature and character and blessings for the use of its friends. But it would be unreasonable to require that the same man should win distinction in every part of the field; and it seems to me wiser and better to mark and to admire the good services that good men have rendered to the cause of truth, instead of blaming them for the want of gifts which they never possessed, and for not doing work which it was beyond their power to do. As a Christian minister and scholar, Dr. Leland takes high rank; he rose far above the petty ecclesiastical strife which distracted in his day the religious body with which he was connected; and the powerful weapon that he wielded in controversy was never turned against his own brethren, but always against the enemies of the Christian faith. Occupied with his studies, he pursued the even tenor of his way without troubling himself much about subscription or non-subscription. He stood up for Christianity and the Scriptures, without rending a Church or wounding the feelings of God's children. By diligent study and by controversial power, without the aid of college training, he achieved for himself a very high place among the divines of his age and country. To this hour there is no good English theological library, where Leland's *View of the Deistical Writers* does not hold an honoured place.*

THE BACHELOR'S WISH.

Dublin, April 20th, 1725.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I ought to begin this letter with many apologies for not writing to you before now. The favour of

* Leland's *Works*; Weld's *Funeral Sermon*; Aikin's *General Biography*; Killen's *Continuation of Reid's History*.

yours to me I gratefully acknowledge, but was just gone to my Lord Loftus's at Monasterevan when yours came. I stayed in the country above a month, my Lord being dangerously ill, which prevented my returning as speedy an answer as I intended. Afterwards your letter was some way or other lost, so that I cannot pretend to give a precise answer to the particular things contained in it. I am sure there is none would more highly value a correspondence with you than myself, and I hope, if you favour me again, to be more punctual. I have nothing very extraordinary to acquaint you with. Mr. Strong's eye is, I think, quite lost. Mr. Maquay is under some difficulties with his people. There are some very hot Northerns in his Congregation, who urge the applying to the Synod for a Minister, and I hear are using clandestine methods for getting a call drawn up, and signed by many of the people, to Mr. Boyd. But I hope their projects will be disappointed. We are now setting about our new meeting-house in Eustace Street, which will be a work of considerable trouble and charge. I am very glad to hear that you have so comfortable a settlement, and wish you all the success that you yourself can desire. I am yet in a wandering condition, but perhaps may change it in no long time; when I do so, you shall hear it. I here send you a song which I was desired to make. I call it the *Bachelor's Wish*, because it answers to one called the *Maiden's Wish*. I add it here for your diversion:—

I.

Ye Bachelors that want good wives,
And would with them lead happy lives,
Let reason guide your fancies :
Whene'er I court, I don't design
To cry and rant, to sigh and whine,
Like heroes in romances.

II.

Let others blame me if they list,
On quality I'll not insist,
Or what they call a beauty ;
No vain coquette nor formal prude,
Nor one that thinks herself so good,
She won't be told her duty.

III.

Serene and cheerful be her air,
Neither too gay nor too severe,
But free from affectation :
In the strict rules of honour bred,
By her own choice to virtue led,
As well as education.

IV.

Grant her good humour and good sense,
 It won't give me any great offence
 If she has not much learning ;
 But she for conversation fit,
 But not a critic nor a wit,
 Yet prudent and discerning.

V.

One that can manage her affairs,
 Wisely discharging all the cares
 That to the house belong :
 Knows when to spend and when to save,
 When to be merry and be grave,
 And when to hold her tongue.

VI.

Grant me, kind Heaven, but such a wife,
 [And to] support the expense of life,
 [A] competent estate :
 In happy calm I'll spend my days,
 Nor envy kings their palaces,
 Contented with my fate.

This hobbling rhyme has taken up too large a share in my letter ; but if you'll pardon this, I won't be so impertinent another time. We expect the R. D. very soon, but have not received it as yet ; the order is signed by the King, but not as yet by the Lords of the Treasury. I don't know what to say about the affair you wrote to me about : I fancy you have had a better account of it than I can pretend to give you. I am in much sincerity, your affectionate friend and most humble servant,

JOHN LELAND.

Taken from an *Original MS. Letter* addressed to Rev. T. Steward, of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.

WHERE WAS YOUR RELIGION BEFORE LUTHER ?

That common question of the Romish missionaries to the Protestants, "Where was your religion before Luther?" argues either great ignorance or great impudence in those that propose it. Where was it, do they ask ? It was in the primitive Church for several ages before Popery was known : it has all along continued in the Holy Scriptures, the great unerring rule of faith and practice : it has been preserved in the Churches in and about the valleys of Piedmont, which have continued in a great measure uncorrupted from the primitive times, and never submitted to the papal authority, as the learned Dr. Allix and others have shown : yea, it may be justly affirmed, that our religion, in the main articles of it, was preserved in the midst of

the Romish Church itself, in which there were many that in every age bore their testimony against the growing corruptions of that Church, as appears with the clearest evidence from many writings of those times that are still extant.

Popery therefore, as such, is very far from being what they vainly boast, the Old Religion. That only is, properly speaking, the old Christian religion, which was taught by Christ and His Apostles in the beginning, and which is contained in the Holy Scriptures, which were then written by His direction, and by the inspiration of His Holy Spirit. But the doctrines and superstitions of Popery are of a much later invention; the principal of them were not generally received and established till above a thousand years after our Saviour, and some of them much later.

And from the time that Popery came thus to be established, there were not only some particular persons, but large societies of Christians, that separated from the Church of Rome, that rejected the Pope's authority as anti-Christian, and disowned the corruptions that were introduced. These were called by several names, as the Waldenses, Albigenses, Patarines, Petrobrusians, Henricians, Paulicians, and abundance of other hard names, which their enemies bestowed upon them. Great endeavours have been used to blacken and misrepresent them; but some of their keenest adversaries, and particularly Raynerius the Inquisitor, who himself was one of their persecutors, yet owns that they were persons of strict lives, well versed in the Scriptures; that they had a great appearance of piety; that they believed all the articles of the creed; only, says he, "they blasphemed the Romish Church and clergy." He adds that they were a sect of great antiquity, supposed by some to have been from the time of Sylvester (who lived A.D. 314), and by others to have been from the time of the Apostles; and that they were very numerous, there being "scarce any land," says he, "in which this sect is not to be found." This testimony from a professed enemy is very remarkable. Æneas Sylvius, who was afterwards Pope by the name of Pius II., has given us a catalogue of their opinions, by which it appears that they held the same doctrines which the Protestants commonly hold now. And though their adversaries have done all they could to destroy all their writings and monuments, that might convey a just notion of them to posterity, yet some of their writings are still preserved, dated as long ago as the year 1120, from which the purity of their doctrine, and their agreement with the Protestants, is made beyond contradiction evident.—*Sermon* on the Anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, pp. 10—12.

A DIVINE MEDIATOR.

I think it is evident that the higher the dignity of the Mediator is, the better is He fitted to answer all the ends for which we

can suppose such a Mediator appointed ; and supposing Him to be one in whom the divine and the human nature is wonderfully united, this tends greatly to strengthen our faith and confidence, and He appears upon such a view to be every way qualified for the important work to which He is designed. Nor is our not being able to explain distinctly the manner of this union any real objection against it ; for how many things are there relating to the nature of God, His attributes and works, which we are not able to explain ! Can we explain how our own souls and bodies are united, or how a spiritual being that has no parts or solidity should move matter or be united to it ? But must we therefore deny that it is so ! It will be easily granted this author that an infinite Being cannot become finite ; that an omnipresent Being cannot be limited or confined (as he represents it) to a small spot of earth, nor can an invisible essence become visible, or the proper object of our senses, nor can God be converted into man, or the Divine nature changed into the human ; these are contradictions, but no way chargeable on the sacred writings, which never teach us to form such notions. But though an infinite, omnipresent, invisible essence cannot be converted into a finite, limited, visible nature, yet how far it may assume such a finite nature into a near union with itself, we cannot pretend to explain. And those that represent this as impossible ought to prove that there is a contradiction in it, which hitherto they have not been able to do. The incarnation of the Son is indeed a great mystery (and mysteries there must be in natural religion as well as revealed), but it is a mystery of love and grace and condescension, which, where it is firmly believed, must have the noblest effects upon the heart and practice, and cannot but fill the soul with the highest admiration and love and joy. It is impossible to represent God under a more amiable idea, or to conceive a higher notion of His amazing love and goodness towards mankind, than to consider Him as having so loved the world that He sent His only begotten Son to assume our nature, to bring a perfect revelation of the Divine will to mankind, to set before us an excellent example of universal goodness and purity and humility, to redeem us by His own grievous sufferings from deserved wrath and ruin, to give us a visible pledge of a glorious immortality by His own resurrection and ascension, to be a perpetual Advocate and Intercessor for us, through whom we have full liberty of access to God as our heavenly Father, and to communicate to us the influences and aids of the Holy Spirit, that we may be trained up in a life of sincere obedience, and the practice of every amiable virtue for a life of eternal glory. I think it cannot reasonably be denied, even by those that give no credit to these things, that where they are firmly believed they tend to kindle in the heart warm and lively sentiments of love and gratitude, and to fill the soul with joy and comfort, and powerfully draw it to God, whom

it cannot but regard as infinite love and goodness. — *Answer to* “Christianity as Old as the Creation,” II., ch. xv., pp. 535-7.

CHRIST QUALIFIED TO BE OUR SAVIOUR.

This incarnation of the Son of God, taken in all its circumstances, was the most extraordinary event that ever the world saw; the most amazing in itself, and the most beneficial in its consequences. The more we consider it, the greater matter we shall find for delightful astonishment. In this constitution, the wisdom of God, as well as His goodness and love to mankind, is eminently conspicuous; for by this it appeareth that the great appointed Saviour is every way qualified for accomplishing the important work upon which He was sent, admirably fitted to sustain the office and character of mediator between the offended Majesty of heaven and guilty creatures of the human race. On the one hand, He is a person of infinite dignity, the only begotten of the Father, in whom He is always well pleased; on the other hand, He is intimately united to us, and of great tenderness towards us, as being partaker of our flesh and blood. His being really man fitted Him for teaching and instructing us in a way suited to our capacities, and for being a proper example and pattern for us to imitate. It qualified Him for the obedience He yielded, and for the sufferings He endured on our behalf, and rendered Him both capable of dying for us and of being raised from the dead, and thereby exhibiting a visible proof and pledge of our own resurrection to immortal bliss. It fitted Him for being a proper High Priest for us, touched with a feeling of our infirmities, and for appearing as an Advocate and Intercessor on our behalf in the heavenly sanctuary. And finally this rendereth His exaltation a source of consolation and joy; for what a comfort must it be to reflect that He who assumed our nature, and is therefore so nearly related to us, is now exalted at the right hand of the Majesty on high, and is made Head over all things to His Church; that He hath an universal kingdom and sovereignty committed to Him, and shall at length be our final Judge! Justly, therefore, doth the Apostle lay a special emphasis upon this, that, as there is one God, so there is one Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus (1 Tim. ii. 5); because if He were not truly and properly man, He would not be such a mediator as our case required. But, on the other hand, His being not a mere dignified man, but the eternal Son of God, “the brightness of the Father’s glory, and the express image of His person,” in “whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily,” gives us the highest assurance of His being able to accomplish the great work of our redemption and salvation. It is this that deriveth a mighty weight and authority to the instructions He hath given and the laws He hath prescribed, and adds a wonderful force and beauty to the example He hath set before us. This gives

an unparalleled merit and dignity to His obedience and the sacrifice He has offered on our behalf, and renders His mediation and intercession of the highest efficacy and prevalency. It is this that qualifies Him for His universal headship, and for exercising a glorious sovereignty over angels and men, for raising the dead and judging the world. In sum, it is this which rendereth Him a proper object of our confidence and trust, a complete and all-sufficient Saviour, able to fulfil His own glorious promises, and to be the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey Him. What a stable foundation for rejoicing is this, that we have such a Mediator provided for us, who hath the power and sufficiency of God in conjunction with the tenderness and compassions of the human nature!—*Sermons*, vol. iii., Dis. vi., pp. 110—113.

CHAPTER XLVI.

JOHN HUTCHESON (1690—1729),

MINISTER AT DOWNPATRICK AND ARMAGH.

A Brief Review of a paper entitled *A Letter from the Presbytery of Antrim*, with arguments for a proper authority and power of Government in the Church, and for submission to sentences of lawful judicatures supposed to be passed *clave errante*, etc. Also the right of Churches to require subscription of such as they admit into the ministry is maintained, and the practice of the Presbyterians in the North of Ireland, in relation to subscription is defended. By some subscribing Ministers. 8vo., pp. 59. *Dublin*, 1730. A. L. E.

JOHN HUTCHESON, the main author of the above work, was son of the Rev. Alexander Hutcheson, Minister of Saintfield (1670—1711). He became Minister of Downpatrick in 1690, but accepted an invitation to the congregation of Armagh in 1697. He was a man of good sense and excellent moral character, but of a modest and retiring nature. He was twice married, first, to a Miss Trail, by whom he had three sons, the second of whom was Dr. Francis Hutcheson, the celebrated Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow; and secondly to Miss Wilson of Tully, Co. Longford, by whom he had two sons and a daughter.

In 1722, the congregation of Armagh built a new church upon a new site, given them in perpetuity by the ancestor of the present Lord Farnham. Their former place of worship had been built on lands belonging to the see of Armagh; but it seems his

grace, Primate Lindsay, was a little severe in exacting heavy penal fines or additional rents from his Presbyterian tenants, acting on the principle and policy, I suppose, that the Emperor Arcadius announced in regard to the Pagan citizens of Gaza, who showed some reluctance to comply with his wish, and to become Christians. Arcadius declined to exterminate them, root and branch, as some in his circumstances would not have hesitated to do; but said he, "We will rather oppress them by degrees; for when oppressed on all sides, they will come to a knowledge of the truth." To escape being "oppressed by degrees," and perversely preferring to remain in their errors rather than to come to the knowledge of the truth by such means, the Presbyterians rose and left the Primate's land, and built a new church on a bit of free soil granted them by a generous layman. The new house was in part erected out of the ruins of the ancient church and monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, which had once stood in its immediate neighbourhood. Dr. Stuart, in his *Historical Memoirs* of Armagh, tells the following humorous story, which is said to have occurred at the time of its erection:—

"While the workmen," says he, "were engaged in preparing the materials, Dean Swift, accompanied by a friend, went to the place, and found the masons busily occupied in smoothing a number of curiously carved stones, adorned with grotesque heads and the figures of cherubs, which probably had been sculptured in the days of Imar O'Haedagain.* 'See,' said Swift, 'these fanatic Puritans are chiselling Popery out of the very stones.' 'Pray,' added he, addressing himself to a sawyer, who was then cutting some timber on the premises, 'how much do you earn per day?' 'Fifteen pence, please your Reverence.' 'Fifteen pence! why, I can get in Dublin a better sawyer to work all day for tenpence.' 'And I, please your Reverence, can produce a parson who preaches better sermons than the Dean of St. Patrick's, though he is only paid £40 a year, whilst the Dean receives £700.' Pleased with the sawyer's humour, the Dean presented him with half-a-crown."†

* He was teacher of St. Malachy, and he rebuilt the church and abbey in 1126.

† *Historical Memoirs* of Armagh, p. 489. While these lines are passing through the press, the First Congregation of Armagh, under

It is matter of great regret that Mr. Hutcheson, who was in every way so competent, did not take a more prominent part in the non-Subscription Controversy, and that he left men very much inferior to himself to sustain the cause of orthodoxy against such practised polemics as Kirkpatrick, Abernethy, Haliday, and Nevin. It was not till the Presbytery of Antrim had been driven from the Synod, that he drew up some *Remarks* upon the letter, in which they had on that occasion justified their conduct to their congregations. So pleased were some of the brethren to whom this production was shown in manuscript, that they urged him to reply to the *Narrative of the Seven Synods*; and he had made some progress in that work, when his career was suddenly cut short. He died on the 10th of February, 1729.

During his life, Mr. Hutcheson could not be persuaded to send to the press what he had written in reply to the Presbytery of Antrim, nor after his death would his executors undertake the responsibility. But fortunately the manuscript came into the hands of the Rev. George Lang of Loughbrickland: a few additional notes were added by himself and others, and the whole was published in 1730. Dr. Reid, in every way so competent a judge, says of this work:—

“This is by far the most satisfactory vindication of subscription to a confession of faith, and of the authority of the Church, and the conduct of the Synod, which appeared during this controversy. Though his remarks were comprised in a few papers, the author carefully analyses the six propositions on which the N.S.S. had latterly rested their case, and he shows their contrariety to Scripture and to one another. He refutes their plausible sophisms with great clearness and skill, and writes with exemplary temper and moderation. His style is correct and perspicuous, and in this respect also he fully equals the most practised of his opponents.”

Mr. Hutcheson's second son, FRANCIS, achieved for

the care of the Rev. Jackson Smyth, are again rebuilding their church on a very beautiful plan, and are soon to desert the plain structure which Dean Swift saw in process of erection.

himself a very distinguished reputation. He was born on the 8th of August, 1694, and educated under care of his grandfather, the Minister of Saintfield.* He entered Glasgow in 1710, studied theology under Professor Simson, and was about to be ordained over the congregation of Magherally, when he was induced by the Dublin Ministers to open an academy in that city. The Dissenting Academy was one of the expedients by which the Presbyterians, shut out from the only university in their own country, and not able to support a college of their own, endeavoured to provide a home education for their clergy. It had been tried at Antrim, subsequently at Newtownards, then at Comber, afterwards at Killileagh, with less or more success. Once more it was tried at Dublin under Mr. Hutcheson. The subjects of instruction were languages and philosophy, through which the principal of the academy guided his pupils, as a variety of professors would now guide them through the Arts course of a University. In this situation Hutcheson established a character, and attracted the attention of various eminent men. In 1720, he published his *Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, and followed it up in 1728 by his *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions*. The following year he was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow, where he proved to be a popular and successful teacher, and won for himself the name of Father of the Scottish Metaphysical School. He was the first strong thinker in Scotland who set himself to sound the depths of metaphysics, and though not correct in all his sentiments he pioneered the way for others who succeeded in reaching simpler and more satisfactory results. The main

* An allusion to this is found in the MS. *Minutes of the Presbytery of Down*, under date August 5th, 1707, when Mr. H. of Saintfield was assigning reasons, in addition to the infirmities of age, for resigning his charge. He said, "that he is under great grievances from the loneliness of his life in this place, now *when all his grandchildren are to leave him*, and from his fears and dangers in regard of the rogues and Tories that frequent these bounds."

ethical principles of Hutcheson are, that benevolence is a simple original principle, no less than self-love; that the moral faculty is an internal sense, and that this moral sense perceives moral goodness only in the disinterested and benevolent affections, and supplies the grand motives of moral action. Dr. Hutcheson died in Dublin on the 8th of August, 1746, and was buried with his wife's kindred at Knockmark in Co. Meath. Nine years after, in 1755, his *System of Moral Philosophy* was published by his son, Francis Hutcheson, M.D., who was at that time a physician practising in Dublin.*

CAUSES OF ORTHODOX ALARM.

This venting of doctrines, which were new and strange to our people, (though old exploded opinions revived and put in a new dress by some late wilters,) became the more alarming and shocking to all who adhered to our old principles, that it happened at a time when divers in England, and some dissenting Ministers there, had embraced a new kind of Arianism; and when the erroneous books of Dr. Clarke, Mr. Emlyn, Mr. Whiston, Mr. Pierce, Mr. Morgan, etc., were in many hands, and favourably spoken of by some young Divines and young gentlemen, and their arguments represented as unanswerable; while the works of Mr. Poole, Turretine, and others of our soundest Divines were disparaged; the innocency of error was asserted; and some who openly disputed for Mr. Clarke's scheme and for Arminianism, were too much regarded by some Ministers, who seemed to fall in with the scheme of our English Dissenting Divines, of abolishing all distinctions of professions among Christians, and setting up a medley of religions called Catholicism.—*Brief Review*, pp. 54, 55.

THE AUTHORS OF THE BREACH.

Secondly, That the late breach of ministerial communion was not made so much by the Synod as by the non-subscribers, who made a plain secession from their brethren in departing from the principles they formerly professed; openly declaring against submission to synodical acts and resolutions, and claiming to be

* Stuart's *Memoirs of Armagh*; Leechman's *Life of Francis Hutcheson*, LL.D.; Reid's *History*; Armstrong's *Sketches*; M'Cosh's *Scottish Philosophy*.

indulged in such principles as made it impracticable for us any longer to have communion with them in church government, while we continued to have notions about it so very different from theirs. And the heinous guilt of schism, which they would fix upon us, lies at their own door; nor can they free themselves of it by alleging that they held the truth: for even supposing it so, (which we don't grant,) the pretended truth they contended for was not of that moment and importance, as to make it a relevant cause for destroying the peace of the Church, and breeding those disasters and mischiefs, which have so deeply wounded religion, as well as the reputation of the whole body, the Northern Dissenters.—*Brief Review*, p. 45.*

* Both these extracts were copied by Professor Croskery, from the original in the Advocates' Library.

CHAPTER XLVII.

JAMES REID, M.A. (1702-1753),

MINISTER OF KILLINCHY.

Formal Christians and secession from them considered (2 Tim. iii. 5). A sub-Synod Sermon preached at Belfast, January 6, 1729. p. 122. *Belfast*, 1729.

THE author of this discourse was the son of the Rev. William Reid, Minister of Ballynahinch (1696—1708). He was ordained to be Minister of Killinchy on the 28th of April, 1702, and continued to fill that important position for upwards of half a century.

He acted for some time as clerk of the Presbytery of Down, and a portion of the *Minutes* (1707—1715), preserved in Magee College Library, is in his clear and beautiful handwriting.

On the 6th of January, 1729, he preached a sermon before the sub-Synod of Belfast, which was subsequently published under the title of *Formal Christians*.

The main value of the publication now is not the sermon, but an Epistle Dedicatory to the Congregation of Killinchy, which he prefixes to the work. It occupies thirty-six pages, and is dated "January 20th, 1729." In this Preface he gives a detailed account of his predecessors in Killinchy, John Livingstone (see ch. ii.), Michael Bruce (see ch. v.), and Archibald Hamilton (1693—1699), and tells many anecdotes of a curious nature respecting the situation of Presbyterians in early times in that part of the country. Mr. Reid died early in June, 1753.*

* Reid's MS. *Catalogue*; *Minutes of Synod* and of Down Presbytery; *Orthodox Presbyterian*, February, 1831.

I have never seen this work, to my great regret. The extracts presented are taken from a notice of Bruce of Killinchy (see ch. v.), which appeared in the *Orthodox Presbyterian* of February, 1831, and which quotes the following from Reid's *Formal Christians*:—

CHARACTER OF MICHAEL BRUCE.

He had a great genius and a liberal education. He was a man of extraordinary zeal for the glory of God and the good of souls ; and a most painful and faithful minister, much given to meditation and secret prayer, very fervent and copious in all his ministerial performances. He laboured heartily in his Master's work among his people, both in public and private, to the conversion and edification of many. He was of great reputation for his useful and unwearied labours in the ministry ; a thundering, broken-hearted, and most affecting preacher, and of an holy and exemplary conversation. He did not shoot over his people's heads, but used a singularly popular and familiar style in his sermons, suited to the capacities, and most apt to reach the consciences and affections, of his hearers ; and every Lord's-day morning, after public singing of God's praises, and before the first prayer, he addressed his audience in a short and awakening preface.

* * * * *

Mr. Bruce was frequently invited to preach abroad, especially to assist at sacraments in several counties, and was much regarded and loved, admired and followed, wherever he was. He was a man of great faith ; and though he was far from enthusiasm, or pretending to a spirit of prophecy, yet (which might also have been observed of Mr. Livingstone), as a gracious return of his fervent and effectual prayers, he had frequently such strong impressions of matters which concerned the public interests of Christ's Church, as well as some particular members or enemies of it, that sometimes from the pulpit, and sometimes in private, he could not forbear to intimate his thoughts of what should fall out. Many yet living do remember and delightfully talk of particular instances of this kind, and they all observe them to have been punctually fulfilled, and that not any one of them failed of accomplishment. Mr. Bruce was much noted for self-denial, humility, contempt of the world, and conversation in simplicity and godly sincerity. He was of great charity, doing good unto all men, but especially the distressed members of Christ. His liberality and great hospitality to such Christians as were sometimes forced to flee out of Scotland for conscience' sake is too well known to need any representation.—Preface to *Formal Christians*.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

JOHN ALEXANDER, M.A. (1730—1743),

MINISTER AT DUBLIN (PLUNKET STREET).

The Primitive Doctrine of Christ's Divinity, or a specimen of a full view of the Ante-Nicene Doctrine, in an *Essay on Irenæus*. Wherein all the decisive passages are collected and methodized; the principles into which his reasonings are resolved, extracted and improved for clearing up his scheme, and his consistency with himself is demonstrated. 12mo., pp. 281. London, 1727.

JOHN ALEXANDER was a native of Ulster. He went to England and settled as Minister of Stratford-on-Avon. He superintended an academy there for the education of young men for the ministry. On the death of the Rev. Matthew Chalmers, he accepted an invitation to the congregation of Plunket Street, Dublin, where he was installed on the 15th of November, 1730. In 1734, he was appointed Moderator of the Synod of Ulster, which met that year in Londonderry. He died on the 1st of November, 1743. The Synod which met at Antrim on the 22nd of June, 1744, sent a letter of condolence to his widow. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Robert MacMaster (see ch. lii.).

"His only son, the Rev. John Alexander," says Dr. Armstrong, "was Minister of a Presbyterian Congregation near Birmingham. He died suddenly, aged thirty, on the night of Saturday, December 28th, 1765, having just finished a very affecting sermon on death, which was afterwards published."

Mr. Alexander was a lineal descendant of the noble house of Stirling. "He inherited," says Dr. Armstrong, "claims to the title and estates of this family, and was engaged at the time of his decease in collecting the proper documents for substantiating his pretensions. His grandson, Mr. Humphrys of Worcester, has lately revived the prosecution of these claims with great success; and has established his rights derived through his grandfather by a decision of the Supreme Courts of Scotland; having been recognised by the Peers of that kingdom as Earl of Stirling." What relationship, if any, Mr. Alexander of Plunket Street sustained to the William Alexander, who took an active part in the American revolution, and was popularly known beyond the Atlantic as Earl of Stirling, I have not been able to ascertain.

So late as 1824, leave was given by the Synod of Ulster to have their records searched on behalf of the descendants of Mr. Alexander. Little, however, is to be found in them beyond the very few ecclesiastical facts embodied in this notice. As the Essay on Irenæus has never come my way, I regret that it is not in my power to annex a specimen.* His personal character is thus described by Mr. MacMaster:—

He was an able minister of the New Testament, a faithful labourer in Christ's vineyard. Warning sinners of their danger, encouraging and exhorting the righteous, and endeavouring to train up souls for heaven, was the delightful employment of his life. For the work of the ministry he was qualified above the common rate. All that knew him well must own that he was a great scholar. He had studied hard from his youth, and so attained a very considerable stock of learning. The learned languages he was well acquainted with. He could read the Old and New Testaments in their originals as familiarly as if he had been reading English. But his beloved language was the Greek, in which he was so ready that he read the Greek Fathers with as much ease and delight as if Greek had been his mother-tongue. In short, he was not a stranger to any branch of polite or useful learning. But notwithstanding his great abilities and attainments, he was humble and lowly in his opinion of himself.

* MS. *Minutes of Synod*; Reid's *Catalogue*; Armstrong's *Sketches*; MacMaster's *Funeral Sermon*.

With those who knew him well, his reputation for learning and goodness, usefulness in the Church, was much greater than in his own account.

And what added beauty and lustre to his character was, that he made all his knowledge subservient to Divinity, which was his principal study. He had the body of it in his head, and the spirit and soul of that body in his heart. He was diligent in his studies. He gave attendance to reading, and was daily making improvements. Few studied the Holy Scriptures more than he. He knew that his furniture, both as a Christian and a minister, must be taken chiefly from hence; and therefore he was seldom without his Bible before him in his study, which I myself have frequently seen.

And as he took great care to furnish his own mind with all useful knowledge, so his public performances were a sufficient discovery of his natural and acquired abilities, and that he made the best of them, and did not spend his time idly. He never daubed with untempered mortar, nor presented to God nor his people that which cost him nothing. You that were his beloved flock know that he was a grave, methodical, and judicious preacher. His preaching was mostly practical, yet rational and argumentative. I have often heard him say that he "had all along studied to preach affectionately and plainly; that he had always observed that that way of preaching did the most good; and that he was of the same mind with Prince Henry, who, hearing the Puritans of those times reproached and slightly spoken of, said that he knew not what they called Puritan preaching, but he loved that preaching best which went nearest his heart.

He delivered to you the word of God and the gospel of Jesus Christ in purity and simplicity. He fed you with the finest of the wheat, with sound doctrine, such as shall make you wise unto salvation. His chief care was to explain to you the great articles of the Christian faith and rules of life; what you must believe and how you must live in order to be eternally happy. Solid truth, judiciously handled, was the usual entertainment he gave you. All his sermons showed him to be a good man, one that sought the honour of God, the restraining of wickedness, and the promoting of the holiness and salvation of his hearers. For this reason the best hearers were the best pleased with his preaching.

CHAPTER XLIX.

JOHN HENDERSON (1713—1753),

MINISTER OF DUNEAN, CO. ANTRIM.

Funeral Sermon for Rev. Thomas Shaw, 1731.

OF this Minister's history very little is now known. He was ordained at Dunean on the 26th of August, 1713, and became a member of the Belfast Society. The connexion thus formed gradually undermined his attachment to the Synod, and led to his withdrawal along with the other members of the Presbytery of Antrim in 1726.

His only publication, so far as now known, was his *Funeral Sermon* for Shaw of Ahoghill, who died in 1731. It is now so rare that I have failed to find a copy of it. The only extract in my power to give is a fragment from it, quoted in the Appendix to Duchal's *Funeral Sermon* for Abernethy.

Mr. Henderson died in 1753. His own funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Archibald Maclaine, Minister of Antrim, on the 17th of January in that year. An extract, giving the preacher's impression of his character, will be found under that gentleman's name. It is enough to say here that he describes Henderson as wise in counsel, clear in judgment, possessing great knowledge of the world, and a steady and faithful friend. He states that he was a man possessing a just sense of his personal dignity, distinguished for strict integrity, and temperate in all things. He adds that he was among the last survivors of the Belfast Society; that he lived to reach

nearly threescore years and ten; and that he possessed an only child, whom he trained for virtue and usefulness.*

SHAW OF AHOGHILL.

I had the happiness of an early intimate acquaintance with him, and continued in it to his last moments; and for the space of near thirty years' familiarity, cannot on the severest reflection charge his conduct with an indecency or indiscretion. With as good a right as most men in his age, might he appeal to his flock and all that knew him, as the Apostle did to the saints of Thessalonica: "Ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily and justly and unblameably we behaved ourselves towards you."—Quoted in *Appendix to Duchal*, p. 31.

* Maclaine's *Funeral Sermon* for Henderson: Appendix to Duchal's *Funeral Sermon* for Abernethy.

CHAPTER L.

A MEMBER OF THE GENERAL SYNOD. (1731.)

The Narrative of the non-Subscribers *Examined*; wherein the differences among Protestant Dissenters in the North of Ireland, in their rise, progress, and issue, are fairly represented; the mistakes of the N.SS. detected; the main arguments and objections answered; and the acts and resolutions of the General Synod vindicated. Together with some original papers, extracts from our records, their own pamphlets, and some private letters never before published. 12mo., pp. 91. *Dublin*, 1731. M. C. D.

THIS is the orthodox reply to the *Narrative of the Seven Synods*, written by some one, whose name is now unknown. Some have suspected it to be the production of Gilbert Kennedy of Tullylish, but that conjecture requires confirmation. Dr. Reid could not ascertain the writer's name, and most probably it will always remain a secret. It is not so ably written as the *Narrative* to which it professes to reply, nor does it enter into the whole matter at such length as could be desired; yet it is more satisfactory than most of the publications on the same side, and it contains nothing of which the author had reason to be ashamed. We present copious extracts.

THE CORE OF THE CONTROVERSY.

The core of the controversy between the Synod and the N.SS. seems rather to consist in two things:—

First, whether an assent unto the Scripture doctrines in the W.C., or any other true Summary of the Christian Faith approved by any Church or venerable Assembly, may be insisted on as a proof of one's soundness in the faith, the terms

of Ministerial Communion, and a barrier against error. In opposition to this they say, "That no Church has power to require an assent unto any public authorised form." Nay, they would not confess, to remove suspicions, an essential article of faith, or the clearest maxim, such as two and three make five, if they but smell the air of Church authority. This they call an inquisitory method—an unscriptural way of issuing scandal. What a noxious thing is the air of Church power! How dangerous to the refined notions of these times!

The *second* branch of the controversy relates to doctrines, such as—"That religious obedience is founded on personal persuasion: that no man ought to be declared out of the favour of God, for professing opinions, or using practices, wherein it is impossible to know he acts insincerely: that following our own persuasion with deliberation and without prejudice, will render us acceptable to God, though one's persuasion should be in itself wrong: that in the assent and dissent of the mind, there is neither moral good nor evil: that the first motions of evil in the mind, which are not voluntary, are not sinful: to me it seems a self-evident truth, almost, that supposing a person using his utmost industry to know the will of God, should he in things of less moment err, he is not guilty; that properly speaking no error in judgment is culpable," etc. These notions are a few of many, drawn out of their printed papers and letters written by some of them, some of which were a subject of a debate above seven months, between a member of the Synod and one of the Belfast Society. But though these instances be few (alas! that ever they were so many), yet they clearly show how far the N.S.S. differ from us, and all Reformed Churches, in some important points of faith, and what were the grounds of our jealousies since 1718, when some of the most dangerous of these opinions were vented, and what it was which cooled our charity, and was the fuel of the flame in our country.—*The Narrative Examined*, Pref. xi., xii.

FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINE.

In the interval between the General Synods in 1721-22, jealousies of the N.S.S. increased, as they own. For many thought, though the N.S.S. had owned the doctrine of Christ's Godhead in words of their own choosing, yet they had not owned the fundamentality of the point, and unless they did so they were not satisfied to continue in communion with them. The N.S.S. replied, that the same was as good an argument against their soundness in other points as in this; that neither Confession nor Catechisms declare that doctrine fundamental. And Mr. Boyse owned, "That if the fundamentality of the article of Christ's Divinity was insisted on in the sense of all learned Divines and correct authors, he would not for the world pronounce it fundamental. For he durst not pronounce

eternal damnation upon any, who might be so far deceived as to disbelieve it."

But, *first*, we join with the N.S.S. in thinking that the argument is as strong against their soundness, in other articles not confessed, as in this; for we cannot believe any sound, without evidence, or who refuses to give it.

Secondly, That the definition of a fundamental article given by all learned Divines and correct writers, should be rejected, makes us suspicious; and it is our credit to differ from any, whose charity condemns the current of all correct authors; for it savours little of modesty and self-denial, which were the common ornaments of the brightest lights in former times. And it is more dissatisfying, that they advance this as the opinion of all learned Divines, which is but the opinion of few, if any, of note. For some learned men define a fundamental article, that which relates to the vitals of practical religion, excluding all speculative points out of the number; others, such as all Christians agree in; and some others, such as necessarily belong to faith and obedience. But the current of learned Divines make them such points as the Christian scheme is built upon, and with which it stands or falls. . . .

Thirdly, The definition given of a fundamental article, viz., that it runs through the Christian scheme, and animates our faith and hope, many judge not accurate; for some points of lesser importance may be said to do so.

And, *lastly*, there is a difference between general assertions and the applications of them. We may lawfully subscribe, "that he that believeth not shall be damned" (Mark xvi. 16); that "He that believeth not the Son, the wrath of God abideth on him" (John iii. 36); and "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed" (1 Cor. xvi. 22). Now these are damnatory clauses; but the application of such to particular persons, *thou art the man damned*, becomes no creature, and ought to be left to the judgment of the great day. So that we may safely venture to subscribe many damnatory clauses. And so will every man that owns the Scriptures to be the Word of God.--*The Narrative Examined*, pp. 32, 33.

THE NON-CONFESSING PRINCIPLE.

All which makes their title to communion very dubious, for it seems contrary to the scope and design of the Gospel, which is to confess and believe in Christ, to the bright example of our dear Redeemer; who, though He knew when He stood in judgment that His enemies sought to catch and pervert His words, and that a confession of His Godhead and equality with the Father would be termed blasphemy and judged a capital crime, yet witnessed a good confession before Pontius Pilate (1 Tim. vi. 13). What some will not do in Synods, He did in a judgment-hall. What others will not do to secure their good

names and edify their hearers, our blessed Redeemer did, when He clearly foresaw that they would call Him a deceiver (Matt. xxvii. 63); and the confession of His Deity out of His own mouth would be the ground of a sentence of death (Matt. xxvi. 65, 66). Can we think this Divine pattern is a snare to conscience, eversive of discipline or liberty, or clearly refuted by the Scriptures, of which it is a part? 'Tis true indeed, at first our Lord held His peace; but when He was put to His oath before the Council, "I adjure thee, art thou the Christ?" (which seems to be more severe,) He answered the high priest directly, "I am Christ" (Mark xiv. 62); lest He should seem, as some sound Divines say, to condemn Church authority, and deny the truth. It is also contrary to the precept of Christ (1 Pet. iii. 15), "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that it is in you," etc. The text says, *always ready*; but our opponents say *never*, when we stand in judgment, or when a reason or apology is demanded, with the air of Church authority. It says, *to every one*; they say, *not to a judge, nor to their hearers*, to remove jealousies, and promote the valuable ends of their office. God says, *that asketh them*; but they say, *not*; for this is a submission to an inquisitory method, and fishing out men's secret opinions, so that every clause in the text enervates a branch of the new scheme: and they must distinguish away the marrow of this and other texts too, before they have firm grounds for their opinions; for we cannot imagine that any will confess Christ when forbidden, as the Apostles did (Acts iv.), that will not do it when commanded. The Spirit of God always inclined His people with one mind and mouth to confess Him (Rom. xv. 6). Our glorious Reformers agreed in a collection of principles, a common form of words to show others what they were, and in their protestations and dissents to show what they were not. This party have done the last very frequently, have been open declarers of the peculiar notions of their scheme, protested or dissented eleven or twelve times since the debates began, but never as yet the other. Can this non-declaring principle be avowed with any other design, than that for which it was at first invented? We are confident, that that was to screen error. Will ever any that is sound in the faith refuse to give a reason of his hope, when he knows that his own comfort, the success of his sacred ministrations, depends on it? It is of great use to an unsound teacher; it cloaks him and preserves his character, for others will to entertain a charitable opinion till the scheme be fully opened; and it gives him a fair opportunity to spread and retail his notions, while others are not aware of him. But it is injurious to an honest Minister, for it raises groundless suspicions of him, and he is unjustly classed among the deniers of any truth he refuses to confess.—*The Narrative Examined*, pp. 75, 76.

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